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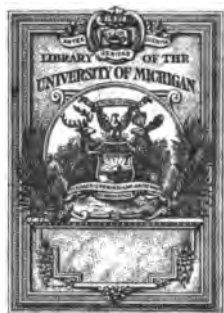
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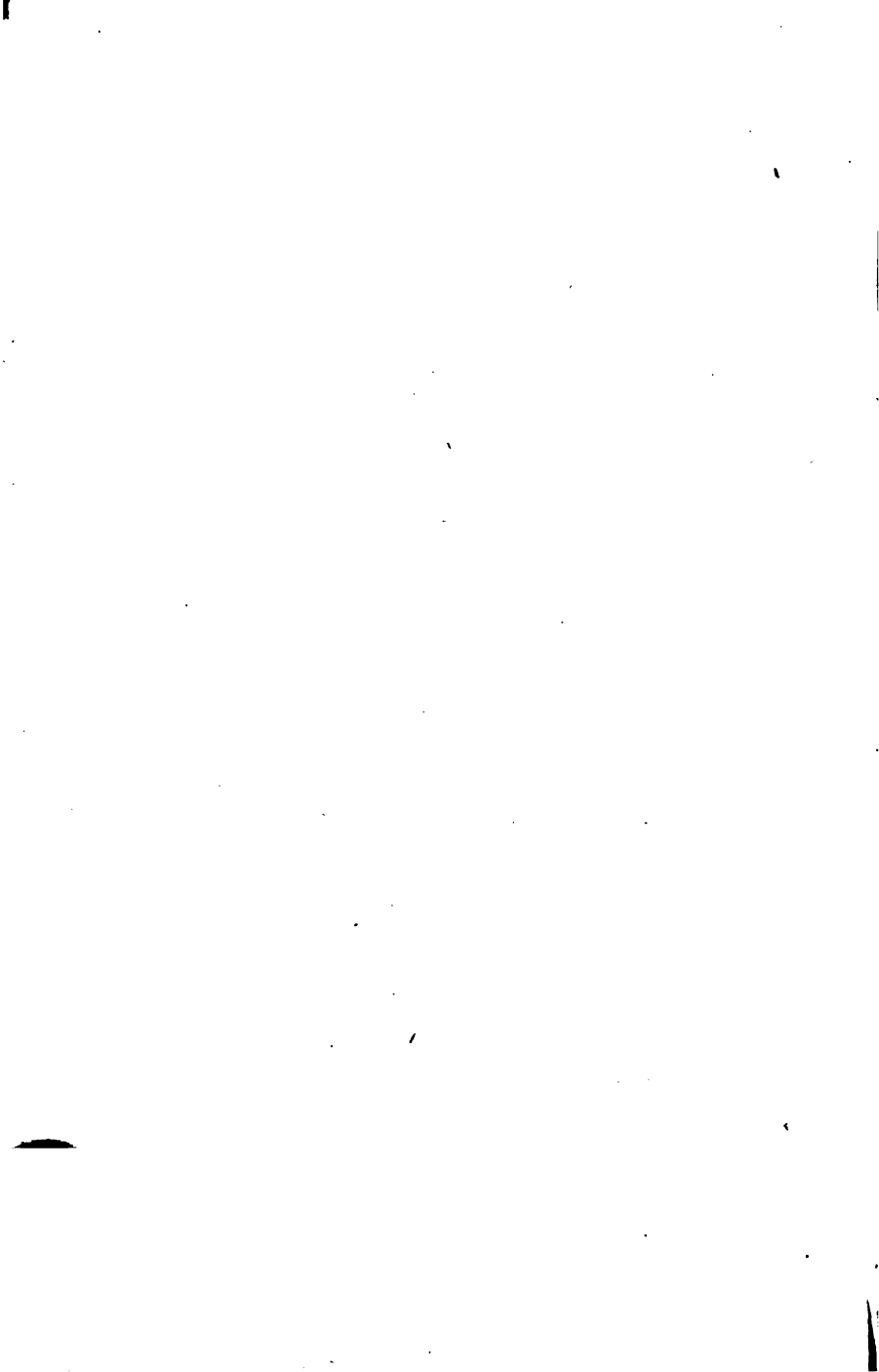
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**THE CHAUTAUQUA SYSTEM OF  
JEWISH EDUCATION**

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**JEWISH CHARACTERS IN FICTION**

**ENGLISH LITERATURE**

**BY**

**RABBI HARRY LEVI**

**SECOND EDITION—Revised and Enlarged**

**1911**

**THE JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY  
P O. BOX 825, PHILADELPHIA, PA.**



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## JEWISH CHARACTERS IN FICTION

### INTRODUCTION.

History is "a systematic record of past events". This the drama and the historical novel seldom presume to offer us, tho the claim is commonly made that the stories they tell are based on actual fact. In most instances, however, the historic occurrences they embody are extremely few in number, and at that are often so distorted that the result, however interesting, may justifiably be described as, not history but fiction, the product of imagination. Sometimes the condition is an expression of ignorance. Novelists and dramatists are not necessarily historians. Again, "nothing succeeds like success". Let a book attain popularity and forthwith a host of imitations are launched to share its good fortune. And tho the original may have sprung from real historic understanding, the others usually constitute the brood of the little knowledge that is dangerous. Frequently mercenary motives contribute to the situation. Prevailing prejudices are catered to, because popular favor has a money value. The average reader prefers entertainment to instruction, and resents criticism. That is the reason that a prophet is seldom a popular idol; why the man with a message seldom has an audience; and why the ten talent man, giving public expression to beliefs generally entertained, nearly always scores an instantaneous success. Furthermore, some writers purposely misinterpret the facts of history to further an unworthy cause in which they have enlisted. Ability and honor are not always synonymns. Many a genius sent to bless, remains only to curse.

Witness the Jew in fiction. A caricature, and yet not a surprise. For however much writers impress their personality on their work and the people of their day, they still voice and interpret the national consciousness. Reading the novels of Disraeli, Brandes finds sufficient biographic material to fashion a life of the author. Reading the literature in which Jewish characters appear we become familiar not only with the men who wrote it, but with the tragedy of the Jew, and learn something of those responsible for it. Studied intelligently therefore, this literature serves a purpose its authors did not anticipate. Telling us little of the real character of the Jew, of the thoughts that surged thru his brain, the feelings that stirred in his heart, the faith that sustained him, it yet enables us to see clearly what they in whose midst he lived thought of him, what they believ-

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ed about him and how they treated him. To understand the Jew in fiction, we must know something of the day and country to which he is assigned. Yet when we analyze him as he is presented to us, little as he approximates the truth, he still teaches us history. And so writers with little or no historic knowledge or intent, become unconsciously historians. And so analyzing a lie we discover the truth. The Jew found in literature generally the same recognition he received in life.

Which explains why the Jew in fiction is almost without exception an unattractive figure. For ages it was believed impossible for the Jew to achieve attractiveness. When he was not exiled, he was shut up in the ghetto, and forced to wear a badge that would enable others to avoid contact with him. As a consequence he remained the great unknown. The figure that popular imagination pictured never existed, yet it was this figure that writers transferred to the pages of literature. Now and then a voice was raised in the wilderness, protesting against the injustice of the situation, but it encountered only discouraging indifference or bitter criticism.

The course here presented begins with "The Jews of Malta". But already before the time of Marlowe, the Jew had made his appearance in the Mystery and Miracle plays. He was also frequently referred to in the early English ballads, especially in connection with the ritual murder charge. In the same way Chaucer introduced him into the Canterbury Tales. Tudor Jenks calls Chaucer "a broad-minded, unprejudiced gentleman of England, with sympathy for all men and women who in their various ways found their lives worth living". And he adds that "the types he has described were strongly characterized but were never unfairly caricatured, and therefore his works have never been considered unfair presentations". Yet Chaucer's representative Jew cannot rise above the killing of Christian children either for ritual purposes, or out of hatred.

Today the Jew is a popular, but seldom a welcome figure in English fiction. Grant that they who write of him take their characters from real life. The real may be so abnormal as to have little relation to the species from which it sprang. A freak is real, but it is never true, and never natural. "The only expression allowable in great portraiture" says Burne Jones, the great artist, "is the expression of character and moral quality.—You want only types, symbols, suggestions. The moment you give what people call expression, you destroy the typical character of heads, and degrade them into por-

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traits which stand for nothing." Which bears out Dr. Adler's definition of art, as "the pattern, and not so many ells cut from the fabric of life", and Otis Skinner's belief that "in art no extreme is acceptable". Measured by this standard, English fiction dealing with the Jew lacks artistic value. Now it tells us of impossible, and again of improbable Jews. Once in a while it even describes individual and exceptional Jews who have actually lived. But it gives us the representative Jew, who can be accepted as a type of the people to whom he belongs, almost never.

That it is no simple matter to fashion so typical a character we can at once admit. Popular belief to the contrary notwithstanding, it is extremely difficult to describe even the physical characteristics of the typical Jew. Imagine the task of picturing the typical Jew psychologically. Here is a man born in time immemorial, inhabiting every land under the sun, adjusting himself to constantly changing environments, and assimilating all that it has to offer him, passing thru every possible experience, speaking every known language; a Jew, yet a universalist and cosmopolitan if there ever was one. What is he, what does he think, what does he feel, what are his principles? And who will so characterize him that looking upon him we shall immediately see in him not a Jew, but the Jew?

The consideration explains why so many writers have pictured the Jew, while the real Jew has eluded them. Some day a great man will be born, a man of extensive knowledge, deep sympathy, and exceptional literary ability, a genius stirred with the abiding conviction that his equipment was provided for high moral ends, and he will find the typical Jew and write him down for all time. And he who achieves this end, will himself be a Jew. "If I had been asked to choose what should be written about my books," wrote George Eliot in acknowledgement of Prof. David Kaufman's kind references to "Daniel Deronda", "I should have sketched, well, not anything as good as what you have written, but an article which must be written by a Jew, who showed not merely a sympathy with the best aspirations of his race, but a remarkable insight into the nature of art, and the processes of the artistic mind." John Burroughs looks upon such sympathy as a necessary condition of all true appreciation. He quotes Goethe: "We learn to know nothing but what we love" and adds: "Every object we look upon or think of with the emotion of love, that object in a measure we become. But to begin with, we are not capable of loving it until we are in

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some degree either potentially or actually like it". Compare the belief of Claude Montefiore: "Man can commune with God, only if, at however great a distance, he is like God. Between two beings wholly unlike each other, there can be no communion or sympathy". (*Liberal Judaism* 75). The great painter is the artist who loves the subject he is transferring to canvas. The great musician is the artist who loves the melody he is calling from his instrument. And the great author is the artist who loves because he understands, and understands because he loves the characters which in literary form he hands down to posterity. When this great artist sets himself to the task for which he will be eminently fitted, he will immortalize a Jew, who may not be a "thing of beauty and a joy forever" but will be "a man for a, that".

Originally suggested by Dr. Henry Berkowitz, this syllabus first appeared in the pages of the *Menorah* which was at that time the official organ of the Jewish Chautauqua Society. In revised form it was issued by the Society in 1903 as one of its regular Course-Books. In the present edition, the Course has been not simply revised, but completely rewritten. Except however for the addition of "The Idyls of the Gass" and the substitution of "Alroy" for "Tancred", the list of books to be studied remains the same.

Properly to appreciate any book it is necessary to know something of the country in which its scenes are laid, something of the conditions that obtained when its action is supposed to have taken place, and something of the author and the time and place in which he lived. In brief form the introductory articles are designed to supply this information. They are not offered as exhaustive treatises. The intention is simply that they shall provide the reader with an equipment that will illuminate the particular subject under discussion. Notice that they constitute part of the "Required Reading". The "Bibliography" is meant for those who wish to make a special study of the "Lesson". It is taken for granted that all the members will read the various books treated in the Syllabus. Still it is a good plan to have one member present an outline of the story of the volume under consideration, and another a critical analysis at each meeting. The subject itself should then be informally discussed by the class. A review of current literature bearing on the course of study will also add to the interest of the meetings. In each lesson there are suggestions that could easily be made subjects for debate. Discussions of this character not only interest, they also instruct.

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"The history of nations", said Macaulay, "is often best studied in works not professedly historical". Most of the tales analyzed in this Course-Book are unhistorical, yet it is earnestly hoped that by studying them the reader may become somewhat familiar with the story of the Jew and thereby attain to an intensified loyalty to Jewish life, and the faith from which it springs.

### ABBREVIATIONS.

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- H. J. E. "History of the Jews in England". Hyamson.  
J. A. E. "Jews in Angevin England". Jacobs.  
J. E. "Jewish Encyclopedia".  
J. E. L. "The Jew in English Literature". Calisch.  
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## JEWISH CHARACTERS IN FICTION

### LESSON I.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Jew of Malta". Christopher Marlowe. (1564-1593).

Literature is an expression not merely of national, but of individual life. Fiction especially is often biographical telling us, tho not always with the greatest accuracy, of characters who have actually lived. But fiction is also sometimes autobiographical. An author unconsciously writes himself into his books, picturing, when he does not intend to do so, some of his characteristics, though he may not give us any actual facts of his life. We read "The Jew of Malta", and between the lines we find much of the man who wrote them, while conversely, studying the life of Marlowe, we are able to anticipate something of his play.

Marlowe was born 1564, and was slain in a drunken brawl by Francis Archer, June 1, 1593. To those who knew him, his end was undoubtedly not much of a surprise. A genius of remarkable character, exhibiting unusual ability while still a child, producing the first English tragedy worthy the name before he was twenty years of age, perfecting, if he really did not help to create, blank verse, and reaching a maturity of talent and fame when most men are beginning to acquire it, Marlowe was at the same time a free lance, careless of tradition and convention, indifferent to public opinion, running the whole gamut of vicious dissipation, and believing like Burns, and Byron, and Shelley and Keats, and Poe and Andrea del Sarto, that the ten talent man is entitled to more privileges than his one talent brother, and is not to be judged by the same standard. Moreover he was as indifferent to religion as he was to morality. Boasting his atheism, he called Moses a juggler, and said Christianity did not deserve to live. A Spanish king is credited with the regret that he was not present when the world was created, because he could have given such good advice. Marlowe said he could easily invent a better religion than any that obtained in his day.

"Marlowe", says a literary critic, "was intensely subjective and incapable of taking an impersonal and comprehensive point of view". And again, "he is at his best when expressing his own passions". Yet genius that he was, unquestionably affecting his own genera-

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tion, Marlowe, must in turn have been influenced by it. Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558. Mary had devoted her life to strengthening the foundations of Catholicism in England. Elizabeth was equally ardent in replacing Catholicism with Protestantism. This royal activity in behalf of the church, must have awakened popular interest, tho for the masses, religion and morality seemed to have little relation, for, if we are to trust eye witnesses, the morals of England were never at a lower ebb. Said Stephen Gosson (1555-1624), "We have robbed Greece of gluttony, Italy of wantonness, Spain of pride, France of deceit, and Dutchland of quaffing".

One of the recreations of the people of that day, was found in the stage. Originating in the Church, the English drama was originally distinctly religious in character. The theatre did not begin its independent career until the middle of the 15th century. At first the venture seemed doomed to failure, but gradually it grew in favor, until, under Elizabeth, the masses took it to their hearts and assured its success. Dramatists and actors, however, could hardly have been inspired by their audiences. "Long before the play begins", wrote a contemporary preacher, "the theatre is thronged with workmen, who pass the time, in uncouth jests, with cards and dice, gormandizing and drinking". The vicinity of the theatre became a place of danger which the prudent always avoided. Indeed the London authorities allowed no playhouses in the city limits, tho they were permitted in the suburbs.

When modern plays are criticized, the manager says, "We give the people just what they want". And dramatists of the 16th century anticipated the reply. "The drama of the Elizabethans", Brander Matthews tells us "is often violent, often trivial, often grotesque", and he traces the fact to the profitableness of playwriting, which led poets who knew little of dramatic necessities to woo success upon the stage, and the need that confronted dramatic writers of the time, of adjusting their plays to their audiences. "Why take the trouble", he asks, "to knit a story strongly, and to deduce its inevitable conclusion, when the public the play had to please, cared nothing for this artistic victory? Not only did the playgoers of those days find no fault with the lack of plausibility in the conduct of the story, with sudden and impossibly quick changes in character, with coincidences heaped up and with arbitrary artificialities accumulated, but these were the very qualities they most enjoyed. They preferred the unusual, the unexpected, the illogical, and it was

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to behold startling turns of fortune and to get the utmost of surprise that thew went to the theatre".

Now Marlowe was a lyric poet, converted into a dramatist by the conditions of his day. Moreover, independent as he was where his conduct was concerned, in his art he bowed to the will of the motley crowds that thronged the theatres. They demanded horseplay, and the demand was granted. They wanted to be amused, and he amused them. They disliked the Jew and delighted to see him caricatured, and lo and behold, the caricature stalked upon the boards. They believed the Jew to be the embodiment of every vice, wanting in every virtue, and forthwith, the belief was given dramatic expression.

It is probable however that Marlowe knew as little about the Jews as did his audience. Expelled from England in 1290, the Jews were not formally readmitted until 1655. Despite the edict, however, some still managed to enter. In 1376 the complaint was registered that men trading as Lombards were in reality Jews. Some of the exiles from Spain also sought refuge in England. In 1493 one of these refugees attempted to recover a sum of money which he and others had entrusted to Diego de Soria. In 1542 a number of men were arrested on suspicion of being Jews. Moreover now and then the government permitted limited visits by noted Jews, tho, as in Russia today, the visitors had to leave the moment their time limit had expired. Now Marlowe may have met some of these Jews. But their number was so small, and the few who remained permanently so had to disguise their religious identity, that even if he met them he would not really have known them. And while to know is not necessarily to love, prejudice is largely due to ignorance.

Little as Marlowe could have known of the contemporary Jew of his own country, he must have known less of the Jew of Malta. When the Jew first set foot on Maltese soil, if he ever went there at all in the early days, it is impossible to say. Jewish history and literature are absolutely silent on the subject. Were it not for this silence we should be justified in inferring that they reached Malta as early as they reached the lands of the Mediterranean that lie farther west. In 1492, Malta belonged to Spain, and we may be certain that if it then contained any Jewish inhabitants, they must have been expelled along with their Spanish brothers. When Ferdinand exiled his Jewish subjects, many of them fled to Turkey, which welcomed them with open arms. "Ye call Ferdinand a wise king", the sultan is re-



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ported as having remarked, "he who makes his land poor, and ours, rich". En route some of these refugees were captured by the Knights of St. John, (who then lived on the island of Rhodes,) and were held for ransom. For tho the Knights were originally organized simply to entertain and, later, to protect pilgrims to Palestine, their vows of poverty and chastity were soon forgotten, so that they soon became notorious for their profligacy and debauchery. The members who joined the order, took oath to wage relentless war against the "infidels", meaning the Mohammedans, altho the Jews were always placed in the same category. But the religious motive was often made to serve base ends. From battling against the Turk as the worst enemy of Christianity, the Knights quickly degenerated into a band of pirates, that swept the Mediterranean for spoil. Not content with robbing their prisoners, and stripping them of all their possessions, they reduced them to slavery. Some thus enslaved, as noted above, were Jews. As soon as they were captured, the Knights sent word to the larger Jewish communities of Europe offering their release for stated terms, and threatening to torture and mutilate the prisoners, unless the money were forthcoming at a stipulated time. They must have been familiar with the Jewish attitude toward the question of ransoming prisoners. From the earliest times Rabbinical authorities viewed this as a most important duty, more necessary even than feeding and clothing the needy. Money in the communal treasury, tho collected for other purposes, such as for the erection of a synagog, could be used for this end. Indeed to accomplish this, it was considered justifiable to sell materials that had already been purchased for the construction of a house of worship. Jewish communities, however, were warned against paying too high a price for the liberation of their coreligionists, lest the fact should put a premium on the enslavement of Jews. Under the influence of these views, societies were organized in various parts of the continent, for the specific purpose of buying the release of Jewish captives. The most important associations of this character existed in Amsterdam and Venice, that of Venice maintaining at Malta, an accredited Christian representative, known as a consul, whose duty it was to look after the welfare of the Jewish captives and negotiate with the Knights for their ransom. (The Knights retired to Malta, after being driven from Rhodes by the Turks, the island being given to them by Chas. V, in recognition of their brave defence against the enemy). A similar society must have existed in Leghorn. For

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in Valetta (named after John de la Valette, who successfully withstood the famous Turkish siege of 1565,) there is still to be seen a Jewish cemetery, which according to an inscription above the gate, was established by this philanthropic institution.

Today the Jews of Malta number about 60. They have a synagogue, in which regular services are conducted after the Orthodox fashion by a Rabbi called chaplain, brought from Tripoli. They also have three cemeteries, tho the one established by the Leghorn community is no longer used. The congregation however has to keep it in repair. Records were apparently not kept by the authorities of the island until about 50 years ago, and the Jewish community is now feeling the effect of this official neglect.—For a native is building over the line of this old Jewish burial place, and while the congregation has taken the matter to the courts, in the absence of the necessary records, the protest is not apt to be recognized. All of the members of the Jewish community are in comfortable circumstances, being engaged in trade tho not in peddling, and are able to help the poor wandering coreligionists, who now and then drift in upon them. France gained control of Malta in 1798, but yielded it a few months later to the English, who have remained in possession ever since. As British subjects therefore the Jews of Malta today enjoy all the privileges and respect claimed by their brothers in the mother country. The Jew of Malta was never as bad as Marlowe pictured him, but he was as badly treated. Today his lot is in every respect happier than it ever has been before.

Marlowe must have known much about the Knights. Their fame had spread all thru Europe. He must have been familiar too with their struggles against the Turks. It was because of these struggles indeed that the Knights roused so much enthusiasm, and received so much sympathy and material assistance. But he knew little of the Jews, and he must have known practically nothing of the Jews of Malta. That is why Barabas is so untrue and so impossible.

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### II. Suggestions.

1. The reign of Elizabeth was one of great national achievement. Sir Walter Raleigh founded the first English colony. Frobisher explored the coasts of Labrador and Greenland. Drake sailed into the Pacific and then circumnavigated the globe. The East India Company was organized and the Spanish Armada was destroyed in 1588. It was also the golden age of English literature. At the same time, immorality, ignorance and superstition were widespread. Besides the stage, dancing and masquerading, the chief amusements of the people were bull and bear-baiting, cock-fighting and gambling. "The nave of St. Paul became a rendezvous for thieves and prostitutes". Astrology, witchcraft and alchemy were subjects of general belief.
2. Elizabeth had laws passed providing for the punishment of all dissenters from the Church of England. Naturally these laws applied to the few Jews who lived in England.
3. The Knights of Malta fought against the "infidels". To the Christian world of that day, the Jews also, were "unbelievers". When in 1099, after the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey de Bouillon, leader of the first crusade, reorganized the Knights on a military basis, he declared that he would avenge the blood of Jesus on the Jews.
4. It is interesting to observe that while the Knights were completely under Catholic domination, Pope Sixtus V. (1585-90), was kind to the Jews, removed some of the restrictions under which they labored, and forbade the Knights to reduce their prisoners to slavery.
5. It has been suggested that the original of Barabas was Rodrigo Lopez, a Jew, court physician to Queen Elizabeth, who was arrested in 1593, charged with conspiring with Philip II of Spain against the Queen, and executed in 1594. But "The Jew of Malta" was written no later than 1590. Hence the unenviable notoriety of Lopez could in no way have inspired it. The very prominence of the man however, while he yet enjoyed royal favor might have concentrated upon him the general prejudice against the Jew, and Marlowe may have found in this fact an excellent dramatic opportunity.
6. Henry Morley inclines to the theory of Kellner that when Marlowe drew Barabas, he had in mind Joseph Duke of Naxos, the

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Belgian Jew who played so prominent a part in Turkish history during the second half of the 16th century. (See "History of English Literature", 113-120).

7. In "The Guardian of the Red Disk", Emma Lazarus describes how the Jews of Malta were treated about the year 1300. Considering the fact that Spain practically treated all of its subjects alike, whether they resided in the home country or in its distant possessions, the description may be altogether accurate, but I have been able to discover no historic confirmation of it.
8. "It is", says Symonds, "as tho Marlowe had raked the dregs and ransacked the dunghills of humanity, to justify the melodrama of the hero's cursing end". As tho the character were not already hideous enough, when Edward Alleyn, a noted actor of Marlowe's day, first presented it upon the stage, he wore a long false nose. "On our early stage", writes Alexander Dyce (1798-1869), "Jews were always furnished with an extra quantity of nose; it was thought that a race so universally hated could hardly be made to appear too ugly". So in the Miracle Plays, Judas was always pictured as wearing a red wig, to suggest the devil. Holbein incorporated this idea into his "Last Supper" which is to be seen at Basel.
9. The name Barabas must have been chosen because of its resemblance to Barabbas, the thief in the New Testament, who was released in place of Jesus.
10. Marlowe means to suggest that usury was a Jewish occupation. The fact is that both Jews and Christians engaged in it. "I keep silence", wrote St. Bernard in 1146, "on the point that we regret to see Christian usurers Jewing worse than the Jews, if indeed it is fit to call them Christians and not baptized Jews". (See Jacob's "Jews of Angevin England", 22). And the Jew had an explanation, tho perhaps not an excuse for his conduct. "In England", says Israel Abrahams, "money lending was absolutely the only profession open to the Jews". And when the Jew lent money, he charged a high rate of interest because often he received back neither interest nor capital.
11. "Has he crucified a child?". Jacomo to Bernardine concerning Barabas, end of Act III. A charge frequently made against the Jew. Yet "Jews were never accused of this crime but at such times as the king was manifestly in great want of money". Tovey in Anglia Judaica.

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12. Green calls Barabas "the herald and prototype of Shylock". But "nothing could be more unlike the real Jew than "The Jew of Malta". (Beaulieu, "Israel Among the Nations", 215.) There is absolutely nothing Jewish about Barabas.
13. Israel Abrahams calls attention to the interesting fact that while early English fiction was always unjust to the Jew it usually pictured the Jewess as an attractive figure. Witness Abigail and Jessica.
14. The siege described in the play, probably refers to that of 1565 when, tho attacked by 40,000 Turks under the veteran commander Mustapha, the Knights numbering only 9,000 still gained the victory. The character of the struggle can be told from the fact that it cost the lives of 25,000 Turks, and 8,000 Knights.
15. "The purpose of the play was not to paint character, but to please an audience with the popular presentment of a Jew, rich, avaricious, pitiless, hater of Christians, skilled in drugs and poisons, ambitious but at last caught in his own trap". (Morley "History of English Literature" X 113).

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Describe briefly the character of Marlowe.
2. What can you say of the English people of the time of Elizabeth?
3. What was the condition of the English stage in the 16th century?
4. When were the Jews expelled from England? When readmitted? How came any of them to live in England between these two dates?
5. What do we know of the Jews of Malta?
6. Why did the Knights war upon the Turks? How did these wars affect the Jews?
7. What has been the historic attitude of the Turks toward the Jews?
8. Who were Rodrigo Lopez, and Joseph Nasi?
9. Why was the "Jew of Malta" called Barabas?
10. What is the "Ritual Murder" charge?

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11. Why are so many Jews pawnbrokers, second hand dealers, clothiers and bankers?
12. What is the Jewish attitude toward usury?
13. Why is Abigail pictured as being such a contrast to Barabas?

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## LESSON II.

### I. Required Reading.

"The Merchant of Venice". William Shakespeare. (1564-1616).

The pioneer blazes the way for those who follow. Yet of those who follow, there may be some who will improve on the work of their predecessors. Shakespeare and Marlowe were born the same year, tho the latter had almost completed his literary career before the former gained recognition. Passing his early years at Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare did not come to London until about 1585. Stranger that he was, spite of his genius, some time must have elapsed before he became a conspicuous figure. When finally he did begin to make his mark, he naturally labored under the spell of his predecessors. Sometimes he imitated their methods. Often he re-employed their material. Sometimes his plots represent simply a skillful combination of ideas suggested by a number of different writers, to which however he always managed to add something of his own. And so able was he, that what he wrote invariably seemed original. And it was original. For there may be literary originality in saying something old, provided it is said in a new way. And Shakespeare successfully measured up to this condition. He may not have done pioneer work. Others went before to show the way. But he quickly outstripped them all.

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Now Marlowe was a contemporary of Shakespeare, but considering the date of his writings, also a predecessor. Moreover, he was so successful and popular that we may take it for granted he exerted a profound influence over Shakespeare. In life and literature, the latter seems to have been decidedly more conservative than the former. But even the most conservative, even the strongest of men, can hardly escape the sway of the prominent and able ones of his period. "Shakespeare", says Symonds, "deigned to tread in Marlowe's footsteps, and at the last completed and developed to the utmost, that national art which Marlowe drew forth from darkness and anarchy". Brandes claims that Marlowe is distinctly referred to in "As You Like It". (Act III, scene V). It has even been suggested that Marlowe had a hand in the first rough draughts of "Henry VI" and "Edward III". But even in the development of the Jewish characters, little of this influence is discernible in "The Merchant of Venice".

Lopez, referred to in the preceding lesson, was put to death in 1594. Influenced by this event undoubtedly, in one year there appeared twenty plays containing Jewish characters. One of these, mentioned in Henslowe's Manuscripts, was titled "A Venesyon Comedy". Malone thinks this was the original "Merchant of Venice". Most authorities are agreed however that "The Merchant of Venice" was not written until 1597. Sidney Lee still believes that Lopez suggested to Shakespeare the character of Shylock. Whatever the source of the main figure of the play, the incidents of the plot were probably taken from the "Gesta Romanorum", a series of mediaeval stories first collected in the 14th Century and translated into English 1510—, and "Gianetto" in the collection of tales called "Il Pecorone" by Giovanni Fiorentino, which was written in 1378 but not published until 1558 in Milan. In the "Gesta Romanorum" however, the creditor is not pictured as a Jew. In his life of Sixtus V. Gregorio Letti tells us that as late as 1587 Simone Cenade a Jew living in Rome, wagered Paul Maria Sechi, a Christian, a pound of flesh against a thousand scudi that the report of Drake's having conquered San Domingo was not true. When the report was confirmed, Sechi demanded the forfeit, the Jew being saved only thru the intervention of the Roman governor. This version of the story was current in England long before Shakespeare's time. Fiorentino was the first to make the creditor a relentless Jew. Graetz offers the suggestion that he was led to introduce this change by the bitter



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anti-Jewish prejudice that existed in the 14th century, due to the Black Death, that terrible plague which cost so many millions of lives, and for which the Jew was held responsible. (See Calisch 71).

Why did Shakespeare adopt the suggestion of the Italian writer? Did he think the picture it conjured up was true to life? Dr. Ulrich a noted German critic, claims that Shylock represents the typical Jew of his day, a member of a dispersed and persecuted people, "a pitiable ruin of a great and significant by-past time, the glimmering ash-spark of a faded splendor which can no longer warm or preserve, but can yet burn or destroy". Even Brandes the great Shakespearean authority, inclines to this view. "Shylock", he says, "externally and internally, to the inmost fibre of his being, is a type of his race in its degradation—a tragic symbol of the degradation and vengefulness of an oppressed race—a real man and a real Jew". And he attempts to sustain his position by referring to Shylock's "frequent quotations from the Old Testament, his insistence on the letter of the law, his reliance on statutory rights (the only rights he enjoyed), the restriction of his moral ideas to the principle of retribution, his Hebrew passionateness, his loathing of idleness, his logic and his cold reasoning". Spite of his suffering, however, it is certain, these authorities to the contrary notwithstanding, that the Jew never reached the low level of Shylock. If Shakespeare honestly believed that he did, then he shared the prevalent ignorance and prejudice of his day. Remembering his genius, is it not more natural to suppose, that he knew better, but that like Marlowe, he felt the need of adjusting himself, in part at least, to the beliefs of his time, and the demands of his audiences, would he attain literary and dramatic success? "It may almost be asserted", says Abrahams, speaking of the Middle Ages, "that a convention was entered into, in accordance with which no Jew could be introduced except in a grotesque or odious character". It is known also that Shakespeare was a stockholder in one of the London playhouses and that he appeared in some of his own productions, at the Globe and Blackfriars, two of the contemporary theatres.

Granting however, that "The Merchant of Venice" does not present a true picture of the Jew, and that it has done the Jew an incalculable amount of injury, there is no questioning the fact that as a character Shylock is vastly superior to Barabas, much more appealing and much more Jewish because more natural. In other words Shylock may not be the truth, but he comes nearer approxi-

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mating it than does Barabas. The difference makes it plain that Shakespeare must have known more about the Jews than his contemporaries. Considering the limited number of Jews in England when he lived, how could he have come by this knowledge? In the 16th century Venice was the Mecca, or, if you will, the Paris of Europe. Cultured, literary and artistic people flocked to it from all parts of the continent. And in this pilgrimage, England was always well represented. It is therefore possible that Shakespeare also visited Venice, especially so in 1592, when due to the plague, the theatres of London were all closed. The wonderful accuracy with which he describes the customs of the place, lends color to the belief.

If Shakespeare did go to Venice, he might have learned there all he wished to know about the Jews. For at that time there must have been at least 2000 of them in the city. Just when they first came, we do not know. There is however documentary evidence of their presence as early as the 10th century. Allowed some privileges, their lot was for centuries an unenviable one. For a long time they were compelled to pay for the right of residing in the city a specified period, five or ten years, and as soon as this elapsed, they were obliged to purchase the privilege anew. To distinguish them from other Venetians they, at first, were forced to wear a round piece of yellow cloth on their breasts. Later this was replaced by a yellow cap, and finally the color of the cap was changed to red. Of domestic commerce, moreover, the only business in which they were allowed to engage was the trade in old clothes. Sometimes however they became money-lenders, tho in 1527 all thus engaged were driven from the city and not allowed to return for seven years. In 1516, Venice established the first ghetto in Europe. In 1571, after the battle of Lepanto in which the Venetians and Spaniards defeated the Turks, a decree was issued, expelling the Jews from Venice, on the ground that one of their coreligionists, Joseph Nasi, then occupying a conspicuous position with the Turkish government, was responsible for the war. The decree however, was fortunately not enforced. The next year the Sultan sent Isaac Ashkenazi as a special ambassador to conclude with the Venetians an alliance against Spain. The mission was not successful, but the ambassador was the recipient of distinguished attention, and, it is reported, succeeded in securing from the authorities a promise that the Jews would never again be expelled. In 1579 thru the influence of Daniel Rodriguez, a Jew,

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who was Venetian consul to Dalmatia, a number of Jews of Spanish and Portuguese descent, were permitted to come to Venice in order to improve the maritime commerce of the city.

Visiting such a Jewish community, Shakespeare could easily have gathered the information about the Jews, which he incorporated in his "Merchant of Venice". He may indeed have learned much more. Possibly he knew more, but because of the conditions of his day, hesitated to take his people into his confidence. But even if he went to Venice, and visited its ghetto, (again and again for that matter,) he could not have plumbed the real depths of Jewish life, character, and nature. It is a herculean task for a non-Jew to understand the Jew, and when he succeeds, he does so, not thru casual contact, but by constant and intimate association.

### II. Suggestions.

1. The compulsory ghetto was instituted as early as the 12th century. But not until after the Roman ghetto was established in 1555, were special efforts made to prevent Jews from residing without this restricted area. Dr. Berliner suggests that the word ghetto is derived from the Italian getto, meaning iron-foundry, near which the Jewish quarter of Venice was situated.
2. Spite of the ghetto, Jews were living in various parts of Venice at the end of the 16th century. If Shakespeare visited Venice, he might thus have met Jews, without seeking the special district to which they were supposed to be limited.
3. The fact that not all the Jews in Venice were forced to live in the ghetto, proves that spite of their many hardships, not all the legislation enacted against them was enforced. Indeed in some respects, the Jews of Venice seem at this time to have been more fortunate than their co-religionists in many other parts of Europe. In 1553 for example, the Venetian council granted a Jewish physician named Kalonymus, the means to pay for the education of his son, in order that, as the record reads, "he may become a man useful in the service of this illustrious city".
4. The Jew was compelled to wear a distinguishing mark in most of the countries of Europe. The reason was usually religious, but often social and commercial as well. Vecellio, a Venetian historian of the 16th century states that "the Jews of his day

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differed in dress from other Venetians in no respect save that they wore a yellow bonnet by order of the government".

5. The Joseph Nasi referred to as having brought about war between Venice and Turkey, is the same person, already mentioned in Lesson I, as having possibly inspired Marlowe's Barabas. During the war the Jews were very heavily taxed. Two Jewish bankers however, Anselmo and Abrano, voluntarily contributed 1000 ducats to the war treasury, for which their names were inscribed in a book of parchment, "in everlasting remembrance".
6. Tho rigorously restricted as far as domestic trades and occupations were concerned, the Jews of Venice were actively engaged, and enjoyed many privileges, in maritime commerce.
7. Shylock is described as having been a wealthy Jew. Often royalty borrowed from Jewish money-lenders, and then repudiated its debts, sometimes instituting massacres, to achieve this end. Frequently kings sought to gain popularity by declaring all debts of Christians to Jews cancelled. The Church forbade usury. As already indicated, Christians often still practiced it. When a Jewish usurer died, his estate was claimed by the king. Usually however the latter allowed it to remain in Jewish hands, since not being permitted as king to charge a high rate of interest, the estate would thus increase more rapidly, and he could demand its transfer whenever he might desire.
8. Because of the dangers to which they were subject, and the constant fear that at any moment they might be expelled from their homes, the Jews invested their money in precious stones. Their wealth was thus portable.
9. Because their Jewish societies did so much for Jewish captives, Venice and Amsterdam were the headquarters for similar organizations, radiating to all parts of the continent.
10. Until the 18th century Shylock was always pictured on the stage as a humorous character. "In Shakespeare's time", said Ermete Novelli the great Italian actor, "no artist could have presented the 'Merchant of Venice' as I do. The fierce anti-Jewish sentiment that obtained at the time, would have made my characterization of Shylock impossible". As depicted by Edmund Kean and Henry Irving, Shylock was an impressive and appealing figure.

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11. The Venetian ghetto of the 16th century was noted for the Hebrew books printed there. Daniel Bomberg was one of the leading Jewish publishers of his day. In 1553, the Inquisition forbade the printing of Hebrew literature, and publicly burned all the copies of the Talmud that were found in Venice. In 1556 the Venetian senate even placed the ban on Hebrew books; that is on Hebrew books printed by Jews. Thereafter such books tho issued from the same press, appeared with the names of Christian noblemen editorially attached.
12. Since Shakespeare's time relentless money lenders have been called "Shylocks". Usually the name is applied to Jewish money lenders.
13. Legally Shylock is in the right. "The trial is an utter travesty/ on justice". Lounsberry.
14. It is interesting to note that three of the great modern critics of Shakespears are Jews, Georg Brandes, Sidney Lee, and Israel Gollancz.
15. Barabas and Shylock are alike in that they are both usurers, love their daughters, and seek to retaliate upon their enemies. But here the resemblance ceases. "The motive of Barabas is avarice; that of Shylock is revenge.—The one is a rough draught; the other a finished portrait". Symonds. Shylock is more of a Jew because "he constantly refers to the Old Testament, while Barabas revels in mythological similes". Brandes.
16. "It is, I am convinced, only modern readers and modern actors who suppose that Shakespeare consciously intended to arouse the sympathy of his audience on behalf of the Jew". (Ward, "History of Dramatic Literature" I. 188). Compare with Morley ("History of English Literature" X 237). "In the 'Merchant of Venice' Shakespeare has risen to a pure expression of that spirit of religion which for many in his time was obscured by passion of the conflict between creed and creed".

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. To what extent did Marlowe influence Shakespeare?
2. Who first introduced the Jew into the story of the pound of flesh? Why did he make the change? Why did Shakespeare borrow his interpretation?

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3. Is Shylock a defense of the Jew, or an attack upon him?
4. In what respects is Shylock superior to Barabas? Since Shakespeare was born the same year as Marlowe, and lived in the same country, why was it that he knew more about the Jew than Marlowe?
5. Tell briefly the story of the Jew in Venice. What was his condition in the 16th century? When "The Merchant of Venice" was written?
6. What is the origin of the word ghetto? When was it first introduced, and when were Jews first actually compelled to remain within its gates.
7. What distinguishing mark were the Jews of Venice forced to wear in the 16th century?
8. What commercial opportunities were open to the Jews at this time?
9. What can you say of the expression "rich as a Jew"?
10. What attitude did royalty in the Middle Ages assume toward Jewish moneylenders? Why?
11. Why did not the Jews of those days invest their savings in real estate? With all the restrictions imposed upon them, how did they manage to save anything at all?
12. Why was Shylock so long pictured on the stage as a comedian?
13. What do you think of the trial of Shylock?
14. Compare Shylock and Barabas.
15. What is meant by the Exchequer of the Jews?
16. Why did Antonio borrow money from a "hated Jew"?
17. Sum up Shylock's defense of the Jew.
18. What is Jewish about Shylock?
19. Compare Jessica and Abigail.
20. What is the Jewish teaching concerning retaliation?

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### LESSON III.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Duenna". Richard Brinsley Butler Sheridan. (1751-1816).

Marlowe may have invented the plot of "The Jew of Malta". The plot of "The Merchant of Venice" we know was not original with Shakespeare. But, as tho influenced by the example of these two men, other writers quickly seized upon the Jew and made him figure in their productions. One year after the appearance of Shylock, Fletcher pictured a Jewish character Lopez in "Women Pleased". Note the name Lopez. Twelve years later, Ben Jonson created Abel Druggier in "The Alchemists", while in 1628, collaborating with Fletcher, Beaumont wrote "The Custom of the Country" in which as Sidney Lee puts it, Zabulon is an "attempt to do some justice to the racial characteristics of the Jew". The "Jewish Gentleman" made its appearance in 1640. The title is illuminating. Then followed Dekker's "Jew of Venice" in 1653, William Henninge's "The Jew's Tragedy" in 1662, and Lord Lansdowne's "The Jew of Venice" in 1701.

Seventy-five years later, the Jews were a recognized fact in England. The story of developments that led up to this result is extremely interesting. As we noted in a previous lesson, tho exiled and prohibited from the land in 1290, still some Jews had effected an entry into England. About the middle of the 17th century a number of Marano families, fearful of the Inquisition in Spain, came to London. They lived outwardly as Catholics, but they attended synagog services secretly, and the government knew them to be Jews. Identified with business interests that extended to all parts of the world, they were able to gather information that was beyond the reach of the English authorities. In this way they kept Cromwell in touch with the movements of the Spaniards in America, and the plans of Charles Stuart in Holland. Observing their influence, the Lord Protector perforce realized that the country would be benefitted if it admitted more Jews. Besides, he shared the view that found frequent expression in his day that the Messianic age would not dawn until the Jews were to be found in every land under the sun. Accordingly when Manasseh ben Israel came to London from



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Amsterdam to plead for the readmission of his people, Cromwell at once called the famous Whitehall conference, which, while granting that there was no law by which the Jews could be kept out of the country, still objected to giving them permission to enter. Bitterly disappointed at the result of the conference, Cromwell continued to favor the Jews in every way possible. In 1656 war was declared against Spain. This compelled the Maranos in London, for fear of arrest as Spaniards, to acknowledge their Jewish identity. Cromwell thereupon permitted them to remain in the land as Jews, on condition that they did not thrust their worship on the attention of the public, nor attempt to make proselytes. In 1657 they were even permitted to purchase land for a Jewish cemetery. After the death of Cromwell, frequent attempts were made to have the Jews driven forth, but these were not successful. By 1673 the Jews were holding their services publicly in London. By 1685 they were allowed on the Royal Exchange. In 1723 they were permitted to purchase land, conditional upon taking oath on registering the title, tho they could omit the objectionable words "upon the faith of a Christian". In 1740 a bill was passed allowing Jews residing in the British colonies more than seven years to become naturalized. In 1753 Pelham introduced a bill granting all British Jews naturalization on application to Parliament, but such a hue and cry was raised, that it had to be repealed the next year. The repeal was doubly unfortunate for the Jews, primarily because it checked the progress of their emancipation, and then because it led many prominent Jewish families who despaired of the success of their cause, to leave the faith and join the English church, while others, tho they were not formally converted, withdrew from active participation in Jewish affairs. Curiously enough however, this deplorable desertion was not altogether without good results. Interpreting it as the herald of a general movement which eventually would Christianize all Israel, evangelistic representatives of the dominant faith began to take a kindly interest in the Jews, never before exhibited. Then the liberal religious policy which France developed toward the end of the 18th century also was beginning to make its influence felt, even in England. Furthermore German Jews were flocking to the country, and since most of them at once took to peddling, or became small traders, they came into much closer touch with the people, and so corrected many of the prevalent misconceptions of the Jew. And finally, no less an authority than Joseph Jacobs suggests that the im-

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proved lot of the Jew during the second half of the 18th century, was in part due to the admiration evoked by the success that was attained by Jewish boxers. And so along with their wealthy Portuguese and Spanish and their less prominent German coreligionists, Aby Belasco, Daniel Mendoza, Samuel Elias, Barney Aaron, and Isaac Britton, are to go down in history as unconscious benefactors of their people.

All of which shows that the Jew under George III enjoyed privileges in England of which he hardly dared dream when Elizabeth was queen. Grant that his rights were few, and his disabilities many. The improvement was nevertheless conspicuous, and inevitably registered itself in the literature of the time. For again, if literature reflects the national consciousness, then it is an index of national development. Reading "The Jew of Malta" we see the level of English life of that time. Reading "The Duenna", written 1775, we observe at once how in two centuries, England had changed not only in its conception of the Jew, but in a thousand and one other ways as well.

That social and political conditions were still far from being ideal when Sheridan lived, "he who runs can read" in any English history. When George III became King it is said his mother constantly dinned into his ears the admonition, "Be king George, be king", and he measured up to her interpretation of the advice. "Everything for, but nothing by the people" was his maxim, tho it is difficult to see what great things he did even for them. Moreover while tyranny fashions its own undoing, it also unquestionably checks popular progress. At any rate when "The Duenna" was written, ignorance was still widespread. The majority of the people were illiterate. And because "knowledge is saving", immorality and crime walked hand in hand. Intemperance was a national vice. And ignorance makes for brutality. Consequently hanging was the penalty for stealing anything of the value of five shillings, while those who escaped the gallows were subjected to the most cruel treatment. Slumming parties composed of the aristocracy of the land went regularly to the prisons to see the inmates whipped. That under these conditions prejudice flourished is not surprising. Catholic emancipation did not come until 1830. Nor had the Jew achieved his own. He no longer suffered as he had a century before, but he was still the victim of unjust discrimination.

Born in 1751, Sheridan during his youth was a shiftless ne'er-

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do-well who gave no promise of his later popularity. But his father was an actor and his mother had written plays, so that tho he had received but little systematic education, and no dramatic training, as soon as he married (which was when he was twenty-two) he at once began to write for the stage. His first play, "The Rivals", failed to gain popular approval at its initial performance, but judicious changes were quickly introduced, and thereafter the comedy was very successful. Out of gratitude it is said to the Irish actor who saved the play by his happy interpretation of Sir Lucius, Sheridan, the same year wrote "St. Patrick's Day", a comedy of little importance. By the time it had reached the stage he was busily engaged in writing "The Duenna". Byron called this "the best opera" in English. Its success was instantaneous. "The run of this opera", says Moore, a contemporary, "has no parallel in the annals of the drama. Sixty-three nights was the career of the "Beggar's Opera"; but the Duenna was acted no less than seventy-five times during the season". Up to this time "The Beggar's Opera" had been regarded as the most successful operatic production presented in England. How are we to account for the immediate triumph "The Duenna" scored? Mrs. Oliphant says it was due to the music, composed by Sheridan's father-in-law, Linley. But the satirical element, that finally gained the day for "The Rivals", is also conspicuous in it and must have been partially responsible for the result. Then the scene of the play is laid in Seville, and this gave Sheridan an opportunity to picture the Catholic priests in anything but attractive colors, a device which as one critic remarks, must have "delighted the hot Protestantism of the audience". Lastly the character of Mendoza must have contributed to the warm welcome of the play. Before her marriage, Mrs. Sheridan had been a singer of considerable ability. At one time her father seems to have made an agreement that she should appear at a concert which was to be given by a Mr. Isaacs. In the meantime before the concert took place, the daughter eloped with Sheridan. When his attention was called to the agreement, the young husband refused to allow his wife to keep it, saying it was made without her consent. Mr. Isaacs described the proceeding as dishonorable, a characterization that, considering his temper and age, could hardly have pleased Sheridan. Possibly Sheridan had this Mr. Isaacs in mind when three years later he wrote "The Duenna". At any rate it seems certain that the Jewish character was introduced simply to add to the humor of the play, and to

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entertain the audience. If the character represented the sum of Sheridan's knowledge of the Jew, there was little excuse for his ignorance. For Jews lived all about him. But an accurate picture of the Jew would have contained little that was humorous, and Sheridan delighted in caricature. Besides he too, like Marlowe and Shakespeare, had his audience to entertain and therefore to consider, and tho he might have risen above the anti-Jewish feeling of his day, it still held sovereign sway over the masses. For popular prejudices die hard. Show people that their antipathies are illogical, and they will still cling to them. Atavism here plays a part no less important than ignorance. It is worth noting, however, that Mendoza is no tragic figure like Barabas or Shylock. He is not so much a villain as a comedian. Looking upon him the audience did not curse. It simply laughed. And that laugh witnessed to the change that had come over the attitude toward the Jew, at least in England. Before, he had been the target of abuse. Now he was only the object of ridicule.

### II. Suggestions.

1. In the Puritan demand for liberty of conscience, Manasseh ben Israel saw an opportunity to secure the readmission of his people into England. To this end after the Whitehall conference he remained in London two years. Then, seeing that his mission had failed he started back to Amsterdam, only to die on the way, in the home of his brother-in-law, Ephraim Abravanel, at Middleburg. Manasseh's wife was a great granddaughter of Isaac Abravanel, who, when the decree was issued banishing the Jews from Spain, offered Ferdinand the king 30,000 ducats to recall it.
2. In 1745 the Stuarts attempted to regain the throne. Jews sprang in large numbers to the defense of the country. Many enrolled in the militia, while the merchants subscribed liberally to the government loan. Two Jews even went so far as to fit out some vessels at their own expense and place them at the service of the King. That is said to have inspired the Pelham bill in 1753.
3. Commenting on the repeal of this bill, Lecky says, "There is no page in the history of the 18th century, that shows more

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decisively how low was the intellectual and political condition of English public opinion". The opposition to the bill is well described in Maria Edgeworth's "Harrington".

4. In the 18th century England was much averse to repealing unwise laws. It preferred to let them remain upon the statute books until they sank into disuse. Thus the law inflicting the death penalty on witches found in England, was not abolished until 1783, while that which pronounced death on Irish witches was still part of the legal code of the country as late as 1821. Yet the Pelham bill was repealed the year after it was passed.
5. As illustrating the anti-Catholic attitude of 18th century England, we quote Chatham, who declared the Quebec Act establishing Catholicism in Canada, a "gross violation of the Protestant religion".
6. Spite of the improvement in his lot the Jew of 1775 suffered innumerable trade restrictions, was permitted to follow only certain professions, and could enter no university nor hold any public office.
7. Prominent among those who left the synagogue after the repeal of the Pelham Bill, were the Lopez, Ricardo, Aguilar, Bassevi, Disraeli and Samuda families. Some joined the English church. The rest simply held aloof from every form of religion. Was Sheridan thinking of the latter, when he described Mendoza as a Portuguese Jew, "who stand like a dead wall between Church and Synagog, or like the blank leaves between the Old and New Testament".
8. The German Jews first came to England in 1692, and were accorded a cold reception by their coreligionists. The Sephardic Jews not only denied them synagogue honors, but forbade intermarriage with them. When in 1774 Jacob Bernal of the Portuguese congregation wanted to marry a German Jewess, humiliating conditions were attached to the permission which was finally grudgingly granted.
9. Sheridan pictures another Jewish character in the "School for Scandal", Mr. Moses a money-lender. If Mendoza is weak, Moses is insignificant.
10. The wonderful success of "The Duenna" at Convent Garden, led Garrick the same year to sell Sheridan his interest in the Drury Lane Theatre.

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11. "Here is the weak spot in Sheridan's work. Dash he had, and ardor and dexterity and wit: but—its superficiality is apparent". Brander Matthews. Note how the character of Mendoza illustrates this criticism.
12. It is indicative of the character of the English stage of the 18th century that in 1755 a number of current productions were forced off the boards by the authorities, lest their brazen immorality bring on London an earthquake like that which the same year had visited Lisbon. In 1719 Arthur Bedford wrote a book in which he said that the dramatic literature of his day offended against 1400 texts in the Bible.
13. 1755 Elias de Pass left £1200 for the purpose of erecting a Jewish college. But the courts decided, and the Government approved the decision, that the bequest was illegal, as it aimed to perpetuate superstitious ideas. The money was therefore given to the Foundling Hospital, for the maintenance of a chaplain to preach Christianity to the inmates.
14. Moses Mendes was a noted English dramatist of the 18th century. In 1746 he wrote an opera "Double Disappointment", which is said to have been very successful. He also wrote "The Chaplet" (1749), "Robin Hood" (1750) and "The Shepherd's Lottery" (1751).
15. Successful as was "The Duenna" it was never presented on Friday night, because a Jew, Myer Leoni, cantor of a Portuguese Synagog, sang the part of Don Carlos, and could not appear at the theatre on that evening. (See J. E. L. 107).
16. It is estimated that in 1760 there were 8000 Jews in London.
17. Popular as were the successful Jewish boxers of the 18th century in England, their vocation was frowned upon and denounced by the authorities of the Synagog who refused them burial in consecrated ground, and relegated them after death to the part of the cemetery usually reserved for outcasts and suicides.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Trace briefly the history of the Jew in England from 1650 to 1775.
2. What was Cromwell's attitude toward the Jews? What were his motives?

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3. Give the main facts of the life of Manasseh ben Israel.
4. What was the Jew bill of 1753? What led to its introduction? Why was it repealed? What were the results of the repeal?
5. What causes contributed to the more satisfactory position of the Jews in England, in the second half of the 18th century? How did this position compare with that of the Catholics?
6. What was the moral condition of the people, when Sheridan lived?
7. What could have prompted Sheridan to introduce such a character as Mendoza into "The Duenna"? Why does he denominate him a Portuguese Jew? Compare Mendoza with Shylock.
8. Who were the Maranos?
9. Why is the Jew discriminated against in lands where State and Church are one, and more liberally treated where a State church is unknown? How about England?

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#### Cromwell and the Jews.

J. E. "Cromwell".

#### The Jew in England. 1750-1800.

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✓Lecky. "England in the Eighteenth Century". III. 533 f.

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### LESSON IV.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Jew". Richard Cumberland. (1731-1811).

"The Duenna" was written 1775, "The Jew" 1794. The nineteen years intervening witnessed but little direct improvement in the lot of the Jew in England. Compared to the position he had occupied a century before, he was indeed very fortunate. But he was still discriminated against in literature, and also in life. The leaven however was at work. Early in the 17th century King James I had declared that, "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presemuption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what the king can do". For a century and a half royalty was able to apply that policy with some degree of success. Then came the upheaval. When George III ascended the throne, he entertained little appreciation of the fact that the English colonies had certain rights, which he as their sovereign was in duty bound to respect. He looked upon his American possessions for example, simply as lands to which he could send the surplus population of his kingdom, in which he could find excellent and profitable positions for his personal friends, and from which he could gather all the revenue he desired. Finally by imposing burdensome taxation upon the colonists, the while he denied them representation, he brought on the revolution which culminated in the independence of the United States 1776.

The triumph of American arms set fire to the heart of France. There, too, royalty attempted to rule with iron hand. The word of the king was law. Men were imprisoned on the slightest provocation. Often they did not know why they were arrested. Taxes were levied right and left, the income thus secured being expended in royal debauchery and luxury. The nobility, who owned one-fifth of



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the real estate of the country, did not pay any taxes, but charged the poor peasantry exorbitant rents. The clergy too were extremely wealthy, owning one-third of the land, and were as ignorant, as avaricious, as cruel and as immoral as they were wealthy. The only function in the state served by the millions of down-trodden peasants was "to pay feudal service to the lords, tithes to the priests and imposts to the king. "Your people are dying of hunger", said Feneion to Louis XIV, "Instead of money being wrenched from these poor creatures alms and food should be given them. France is simply a large hospital full of woe and empty of food". No wonder these oppressed and enslaved masses were ready to respond to the suggestions of Voltaire (1694-1778), and Rousseau (1712-1778). No wonder the success of the American revolution gave them new hope and courage. They, too, were human beings entitled to "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", and they would have their rights. "After us the deluge", said Louis XV. And he prophesied the truth. Considering the desperate condition of the people, it is not at all surprising that the first expression of their revolt should have been the "Reign of Terror". Desperation does not know how to be conservative. It knows only extremes. Samson was willing to die if only he could bring death on his enemies. And it takes an emancipated slave some time to adjust himself to his new found freedom.

Now suffering produces solidarity. Persecute the Jews and you unite them. Common hardships, indeed, bridge the chasm between those of different beliefs. When the League of Cambray was formed against Venice in 1508, the Venetians forgot their hatred of the Jew and stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the defense of the city. The conditions that obtained in France in the second half of the 18th century therefore could not help profiting the cause of the Jew. A Jew named Cerf Berr, who had been purveyor to the French army, was interpreter for his coreligionists in the court of Louis XVI. Malesherbes convened a commission of Jewish notables to consider the condition of their people, and make recommendations for its improvement. As a result of this meeting the Jews in France were absolved from the further payment of the poll tax, and were allowed to reside in all parts of the country. A little later Count Mirabeau met Mendelssohn in Berlin. The latter was then busily engaged in pleading the cause of his people, and urging their complete emancipation. So impressed was Mirabeau, that on his return to Paris (1787) he wrote a pamphlet, in which besides refuting the

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popular charges against the Jews, he requested that they be given the right of citizenship. In 1788 the Royal Society for Arts and Sciences in Metz, offered a prize for the best paper on the question, "What are the best means to make the Jews happier and more useful in France". Of the nine essays presented, only two exhibited an unfavorable attitude toward the Jews. The prize was divided between three contestants, a Jew, Salkind Hurwitz, Thierry, a member of Parliament, and the abbe Gregoire, a Jesuit, yet a champion of the equality of all men, without regard to creed. Finally Sep. 27, 1791, all Jews born in France were granted naturalization and citizenship.

The revolutionary spirit is contagious. Rouse it in one country and at once it will awaken in another thousands of miles away. The American struggle for independence was certain to give the English food for deep thought. "It is intolerable to think", said Fox, referring to George III, "that it should be in the power of one blockhead to do so much mischief". But France was just across the channel, so that the spirit which stirred it quickly touched the hearts even of the conservative English. Much better treated, spite of the arrogance of royalty, than were the masses in France, they saw no reason to organize a revolution. But they did ask for more rights. And some, like Richard Cumberland, with a vision that extended beyond their own interests, dared to plead for more justice to the Jew.

Early in his career, Lessing had written a comedy called "Die Juden", in which he bitterly denounced prejudice against the Jews. In 1779 he wrote "Nathan the Wise" in which, unquestionably, the central figure was meant to represent Moses Mendelssohn. But, aside from picturing the Jew in beautiful colors, and assigning him a character entirely in contrast with the reputation he enjoyed, the play emphasized the thought that all religions are simply so many equally necessary means of reaching the same end. A notable production in itself, the play would have attracted attention even had it not assumed so unusual an attitude toward the subject it discussed. Considering the prejudices of the times, the venture was a daring one. But these very prejudices served to lift the performance into more prominence than it would otherwise have enjoyed. Nathan became, not a popular, but at least a public figure.

Now the spirit that begot Lessing's masterpiece was also responsible for "The Jew". There is, it is true, no resemblance in plot.

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The scene is not the same, "Nathan" taking place in Jerusalem, and "The Jew" in London. Even the period differs, the action of the one occurring during the Middle Ages, that of the other in the day of the author. Moreover Nathan is a much stronger character than Sheva, and expounds views much more profound. But both authors were actuated by the same motive, that is, to improve the prevalent estimate of the Jew; and both followed the same plan of campaign, picturing the central figure of their dramas as an ideal Jewish character certain to carry off the honors of the play in which he appeared. "Nathan the Wise" was presented on the stage for the first time two years after it appeared, and was coolly received. Not until 1801 did it become a dramatic success. But Lessing was then dead twenty years. "The Jew" appeared upon the boards as late as 1824, tho it never enjoyed either marked or sustained popularity. We may be sure that in both cases, the audiences permitted themselves to make liberal discount from the pictures presented for their entertainment and edification. For the Jew has always been accorded that treatment, on the street as upon the stage. To be counted as good as his neighbor, he must be much better. Is he just as good? He is then regarded as much worse.

While Marlowe, Shakespeare and Sheridan, gave the Jew less than his due, Cumberland gave him more. Neither delineation is accurate, or true. Barabas is too bad, Sheva too good. Nevertheless notice that Sheva tho kind, gracious, benevolent, charitable, grateful, in everything a conspicuous contrast to Sir Stephen, is still humble, retiring, timid, even obsequious. There it nothing stirring, virile, militant about him. He demands nothing, not even his rights. He is content to be let alone. In this respect he typifies well the English Jew of his day. For 115 years ago, the position of the Jew in England was still too insecure to permit him to claim equality. He was glad he enjoyed so many privileges. He knew that if he thrust himself upon the notice of the public, even these privileges might be endangered. So he preferred to remain in the background.

It is said that Cumberland was the original of Sheridan's "Sir Fretful Plagiary". It was not unusual for dramatists to use the stage for such satirical purposes. But Goldsmith called Cumberland the "Terence of England, the Mender of Hearts". Whatever his temperament or his literary ability, certain it is that if the author of "The Jew" could have had his way, he would have freed the heart of the Jew from suffering, and that of the Christian, from hate.

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"When the new and splendid theatre of Drury Lane was opened", he writes in his "Memoirs" (p. 340), "my comedy of 'The Jew' was represented, and if I am not mistaken (I speak upon conjecture), it was the first new piece exhibited on that stage. I am ashamed to say with what rapidity I dispatched that hasty composition, but my friend Bannister who saw it act by act was a witness to the progress of it; in what degree he was a promoter of the success of it I need not say; poor Suett, also now no more, was an admirable second. The benevolence of the audience assisted me in rescuing a forlorn and persecuted character which till then had only been brought upon the stage for the unmanly purpose of being made a spectacle of contempt and a butt for ridicule. In the success of this comedy I felt of course a greater gratification than I had ever felt before upon a like occasion. The part of Sheva presented Mr. Bannister to the public in that light in which he will always be seen when nature fairly drawn and strongly characterized is committed to his care".

"Cumberland", said Dr. Vincent, who pronounced the funeral oration at the burial of the dramatist in Westminster Abbey, "was a moralist of the highest order, who considered the theatre as a school of moral improvement".

### II. Suggestions.

1. "The Jew" was written in 1794 while the "Reign of Terror" was taking place. The revolutionary spirit then affecting Europe, was in no way inspired by a desire to help the Jew. Yet the Jew shared in the profitable results of the struggle.
2. Inspired by the same motive that produced "Nathan the Wise", "The Jew" was but a single illustration of the demand for recognition of the rights of the masses that found such frequent expression in Europe, toward the end of the 18th century.
3. Yet it took the people a long time to extend to the Jew the privileges they asked for themselves. Just as Protestantism, born of a desire for religious freedom, as soon as it gained power, became as intolerant toward the Jews, as Catholicism had ever been, so when democracy gained the day, it refused the Jew a share in the fruits of its victory.
4. In the program of a performance of "The Jew" that took place in 1824, Sheva is described as wearing "gray gaberdine, and

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tunic, gray stockings, shoes and brass buckles, cravat and Jew's hat".

5. In the excellent preface to an edition of the play issued in 1871, a writer who signs himself, D— G. after praising Cumberland for his liberality, pictures Sheva in these words, "With all the characteristics of his nation clinging to him, his money grubbing, parsimony and affectation of poverty—he walks meekly and faithfully in the religion of his forefathers; the light of a more glorious revelation is darkness to him; yet, glimmering as is the ray that illumines his lonely pilgrimage, it sheds pity's sweet sunshine on his heart". (The edition is published by Lacy of London).
6. Note that Sheva is still wealthy and a money-lender. English fiction thus far has apparently been unable to describe any other kind of a Jew.
7. Sheva is kind to Mrs. Ratcliffe, because the latter's husband once saved him from an auto da fe at Cadiz. This custom of the Inquisition was still in vogue in Portugal in 1739, and in Spain as late as 1826.
8. Sheva is as good as Barabas is bad. Neither is therefore typical or representative.
9. Today, Cumberland and Sheva are almost unknown. The most vicious Jewish characters in English fiction are best remembered.
10. Penniless aristocracy is usually willing to borrow from the Jew. But it is seldom grateful or eager to repay. As its benefactor, the Jew is a gentleman. As its creditor, he is a villain.
11. Cumberland was the first dramatist in England to argue that the Jew had no monopoly on vice, as the Christian had no monopoly on virtue. To him the Jew was simply a man, "call him how you please".
12. In 1780 Lord George Gordon led a violent attack upon the government for having removed some of the disabilities of the Catholics. For six days London was in the hands of a wild mob that destroyed much property, and occasioned many deaths. These were the "No Popery Riots". About 1785 Gordon was converted to Judaism, and measured up to all the requirements of the faith, even to wearing phylacteries, and eating Kosher, and he continued to do so, even after he was sent

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to Newgate for five years. He died while in prison. (See "Barnaby Rudge" ch. 37).

13. David Levi (1742-1801), was a well known Hebraist, and author. For a while a shoemaker and then a hatter, he still found time ably to defend the Jews against the attacks of Dr. Priestley and Thomas Paine. He also compiled a Hebrew dictionary and translated the service of the Portuguese Synagog into English.
14. Other plays of Cumberland, all favorably received, were "The West Indian", "The Wheel of Fortune" and "The Fashionable Lover".

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What circumstances may have been responsible for so liberal a portrayal of the Jew?
2. What inspired Lessing to write "Nathan the Wise"?
3. What is an auto da fe?
4. Why is Sheva pictured as having come from Spain?
5. Compare Sheva with the average Jew of your acquaintance.
6. What characteristics do we find in the average Jew?
7. Compare Sheva and Shylock.
8. Why is Shylock so much better known?
9. Was Cumberland alone in his liberal estimate of the Jew? Did it require courage to give this estimate dramatic expression? Why?
10. Did Cumberland help the Jewish cause? To what extent?
11. What does Prof. Ward mean when he says that Cumberland had "theatrical instinct, tho not dramatic genius"?
12. How did French and American history toward the end of the 18th century affect the condition of the Jew in England?
13. Who was Lord George Gordon?
14. Why does an emancipated slave often enslave others?
15. Why did Goldsmith call Cumberland the "Mender of Hearts"?

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## LESSON V.

### I. Required Reading.

"Ivanhoe". Sir Walter Scott. (1771-1832).

The Jews did not settle in England until the Norman Conquest, 1066. As far as the records show there was no objection to their admission, and they soon succeeded in gaining a position of comparative comfort and security. At first they settled in London and Oxford, but it was not long before they were to be found in all parts of the land. Henry I (1100-1135) allowed them many privileges. This in itself, proves that they were still discriminated against. They were however fortunate in being permitted to move about the country at will without paying toll, to purchase whatever was brought to them, to sell their pledges after keeping them a year and a day, to be tried by their peers and to be sworn on the Pentateuch, tho their oath was valid only against that of twelve Christians. Under Stephen (1135-1154) they were not treated with as much favor. It was during his reign, that the first charge of ritual murder was brought

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against them, and the Jews of Norwich paid dearly for the accusation. The charge was frequently repeated before the end of the century. Henry II (1154-1189) treated his Jewish subjects more kindly than did Stephen. It is true that he taxed them heavily, but since he was criticised by contemporary writers as favoring unduly the "enemies of Christ", he evidently was not cruelly severe with them. During his reign Abraham ibn Ezra visited London (1158) and the Jews driven out of France (1182) found safe refuge in England. But while under royal favor the Jews prospered, their very prosperity gained them the ill will of their neighbors.

When Richard I became king, 1189, a deputation of wealthy and prominent Jews representing all coreligionists in the country came to the coronation bearing congratulations and rich gifts. Was it that the Jews had never before been permitted to attend such an event? Was it simply the age-long illogical antagonism to the Jew as Jew? Or was it the costly garb and gifts of the delegation? At any rate before these Jewish representatives could carry out their mission, they were set upon by the assembled crowd and unmercifully beaten. The "pleasing humor" as one contemporary record has it, thereupon quickly spread that Richard had ordered the massacre of the Jews. A mob at once rushed to the Jewish quarter of the city, killed many of its inhabitants, wounded many more, and looted stores and houses. It is plain that the motive was not nearly so religious or patriotic as it was mercenary. Here was a good chance to get rich quickly without much effort. Bad news travels fast. It did not take long for the report of the attack on the London ghetto to reach the other cities in the kingdom, and wherever it was communicated it brought the Jews indescribably suffering. In Lynn, Colchester, Thetford, Ospringe, Lincoln, Stamford, and Bury St. Edmunds, they had to fight desperately for their lives, tho the heroic defense was of small avail. Hundreds were brutally slain. Hundreds committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy, while the few who escaped sought refuge anywhere, penniless, homeless, and friendless. The climax seems to have been reached in York. Two of the members of the Jewish delegation that attended the coronation of the king, were from this city. One named Joce, escaped when the attack began. The other, Benedict, seriously wounded, immediately agreed to become converted, tho he soon after died. Whether it was the conversion or Joce's return home that was responsible, is not known. The result is clearer. Such



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bitter feeling was roused in York, that the Jews, leaving their homes, took refuge in Clifford's Tower, part of the Castle of the city. When the warden who had permitted them to enter, left, they feared to readmit him. A stone thrown by one of them also struck and killed a monk who was inciting the people against them. These two facts roused the mob that surrounded the Castle to ungovernable fury. Seeing that hope was gone, and resistance useless, Rabbi Yom Tob urged the besieged to die rather than submit to baptism. The majority promptly adopted the suggestion and acted upon it, putting each other to death, the Rabbi as the last survivor, being the only one to take his own life. The few who preferred to live, surrendered. Some were immediately slain, while the rest were sent as prisoners to London.

It seems certain that Richard was angered at the attack upon the Jews during his coronation. But that attack seemed so fully to express popular feeling that he hesitated to take any measures to check it or seek out and punish the guilty. And besides he was just then very much interested in the third Crusade, and soon after, started for Palestine. In all there were seven Crusades, but only three to the Holy Land. For a long time it had been a thorn in the side of Christian Europe that Jerusalem, (and therefore the Holy Sepulcher), was in the possession of the Mohammedans, and the crusades were organized to end this irritating condition. Now it mattered little to the Jew whether Christian or Turk was in control of Palestine. In either instance, he knew, his historic relation to the land would be given small consideration. But it was not possible to undertake the Crusades without money, and the Crusaders saw no simpler way to secure the necessary means than by helping themselves to the possessions of the Jews. Moreover these expeditions were against the "infidel" Moslems. And in the popular estimation were not the Jews also "unbelievers"? So it came to pass that wherever the crusading spirit was roused, and especially in all the cities through which the Crusaders marched on their way to Palestine, the Jews became the victims of the most fiendish atrocities. In the first Crusade, (1096), it is estimated that at least 4,000 Jews met death. Moreover as soon as Jerusalem was captured (1099) all of its Jewish inhabitants were driven into a synagog and there burned alive. The Jews did not suffer severely during the second Crusade (1147-1149), altho 21 were slain in Wurzburg, and many others were driven from their homes. It is worth remembering, too, that all

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who took part in this crusade were excused by Pope Eugenius III from paying their debts to the Jews.

Failing of his mission in Palestine, Richard started back home. On the way he was captured by Leopold Duke of Austria, whom he had insulted, and a little later turned over to the German Emperor Henry VI. Nor was he released until England paid a large ransom, the contribution of the Jews amounting to over 5000 marks, being three times as much as the sum given by the city of London. Looking upon his Jewish subjects as his personal property, Richard felt that the attacks made upon them during his absence had deprived him of much of their wealth to which he was entitled. Immediately upon his return therefore (1194), he arranged for the appointment of officials who should keep a record of every transaction in which a Jew took part. In this way he could easily at any time, ascertain the wealth of the Jews of his kingdom. Thus began the "Exchequer of the Jews".

The story of "Ivanhoe" proceeds during these troublous times. In chapter V. Scott describes vividly the position the Jew then occupied. In an introduction to a new edition of the novel, written ten years after its first appearance, he said: "The character of the fair Jewess found so much favor in the eyes of some fair readers, that the writer was censured because, when arranging the fates of the characters of the drama, he had not assigned the hand of Wilfred to Rebecca rather than the less interesting Rowena. But not to mention that the prejudices of the age rendered such a union almost impossible, the author may in passing observe that he thinks a character of a highly virtuous, and lofty stamp is degraded rather than exalted by an attempt to reward virtue with temporal prosperity. Such is not the recompense which Providence has deemed worthy of suffering merit; and it is a dangerous and fatal doctrine, to teach young persons, the most common readers of romance, that rectitude of conduct and of principle, are either naturally allied with or adequately rewarded by, the gratification of our passions or attainment of our wishes". Granting that the prejudices which obtained when Richard I reigned, would have prevented the union of Rebecca and Ivanhoe, what feelings did the people of Scott's own day entertain for the Jew?

"The Jew" was written 1794. When the French Revolution began, tho the Jews fought in the ranks against the enemies of the land and contributed liberally to the war fund, (some going so far

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as to sell the candelabra of their synagoges for this purpose), they for a while received little reward for their patriotism. Some were put to death as spies; many were imprisoned and fined; the houses of others were pillaged. Even Napoleon himself was at first not favorably disposed toward them. Once he discovered his mistake however, he treated them considerately. Indeed, barring the fact that they had to support their Rabbis, while Protestant and Catholic ministers were cared for by the government, and that they were subjected to a special form of oath called "More Judaico", the Jews lived upon an equality with other French citizens. Napoleon even extended this consideration to all the Jews in the countries he conquered. But with his downfall, save in France, these happy conditions came to an end. Louis XVIII permitted his Jewish subjects to retain the rights they had enjoyed. Elsewhere thru Europe, the Congress of Vienna which met 1814-1815, in its endeavor to eliminate the influence of Napoleon, not only changed the map of the continent so as to make it conform to the conditions that existed before the Revolution, but insisted upon again forcing the Jews to the lowly position they had occupied before they were emancipated by liberal France. In 1819 consequently, the Jews of Europe were much as they had been at the end of the preceding century. This was true even in England. But tho conservatism had gained the day, its triumph was to be short-lived. The Revolution had apparently failed, but at least the attempt had been made, and its influence still actively lived. The experiment was bound one day to be repeated, with success.

Mrs. Skene describes a visit her husband once paid to Scott when the latter was ill. "Sitting by his bedside", she says, "and trying to amuse him as well as he could in the intervals of pain, Mr. Skene happened to get on the subject of the Jews, as he had observed them when he spent some time in Germany in his youth. Their situation had naturally made a strong impression; for in those days they retained their own dress and manners entire, and were treated with considerable austerity by their Christian neighbors, being still locked up at night in their own quarter by great gates; and Mr. Skene, partly in seriousness, but partly from the mere wish to turn his mind at the moment upon something that might occupy and divert it, suggested that a group of Jews would be an interesting feature if he could contrive to bring them into his next novel". When "Ivanhoe" was written, Scott reminded Mr. Skene of this conver-

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sation, and added "You will find this book owes not a little to your German reminiscences".

There seems little doubt that the original of Rebecca was Rebecca Gratz of Philadelphia (1781-1869). She was a close friend of Matilda Hofman, whom Washington Irving loved so ardently, and whose untimely death he mourned for so long. Irving, who had often met Miss Gratz, admired her extravagantly, and on his visit to Scott in 1817, could not refrain from describing her to his host. "Ivanhoe" appeared two years later. The first copy was sent to Irving, with a letter in which the author asked, "How do you like your Rebecca? Does the Rebecca I have pictured compare well with the pattern given?"

Thackeray calls Rebecca "the sweetest character in the whole range of fiction". Plainly Scott had a purpose in making her so appealing. Carlyle apparently had little admiration for the author of the "Waverly novels". "He wished not the world to elevate itself", he says, "to amend itself, to do this or that, except simply pay him for the books he kept writing". The criticism is not just. Scott was as unselfish and sympathetic as he was modest and honorable. He wrote not merely to entertain, but to instruct and enlighten. If he pictured Rebecca in such attractive colors, it was probably because he wished her to improve the lot of the Jew of that time. That he tried to be fair is attested by the fact that while he makes it clear that Isaac has been wronged in many ways, he denies him all the characteristics that give the daughter such irresistible charm.

### II. Suggestions.

1. The Jews came to England 1066 and were exiled 1290. Richard I. ascended the throne 1189.
2. The first time the Jews were actually accused of killing a Christian child for ritual purposes was in Norwich 1144. The charge was repeated at Gloucester, 1168, Bury St. Edmunds, 1181, Winchester, 1192, and Lincoln, 1255. Chaucer refers to this last in "The Prioress' Tale".
3. Richard was so interested in the third Crusade, and so eager to finance it successfully, that he is said to have declared "he would sell the city of London, if he could find a purchaser": Part of the needed money he secured by selling royal lands, and public offices; part by imposing special taxes. Of course the Jews were heavily taxed. Joseph Jacobs says that "the

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- English kings in the latter half of the twelfth century drew an average sum of £3,000 per annum from their Jews. As his whole income did not reach much more than £35,000, the Jews contributed one-twelfth of his resources". Yet Richard was not cruel to his Jewish subjects. Considering them his personal property it was to his interest to protect them.
4. It has been suggested that the original of Isaac in "Ivanhoe" was Aaron, son of Joce, the central figure in the massacre at York. Aaron was wealthy, and for a time, Chief Rabbi of the Jews of England. He was born before 1190 and died after 1253.
  5. The conduct of the Jews of York in the Castle, recalls the action of the defenders of Masada when Titus captured Jerusalem. Seeing when Jerusalem fell that further struggle was vain, Eleazar bade his few followers to choose between surrender and death by their own hands. The gallant little band chose the latter.
  6. Referring to the attack upon the Jews at the coronation of Richard, a contemporary record says "Thus was the first day of the illustrious King Richard distinguished by an event hitherto unheard of in the royal city, by the beginning of the doom of the infidel race, and by a new zeal of Christians against the enemies of the cross of Christ". Commenting further on Richards failure to punish the rioters it adds "He had therefore to dissemble where vengeance was impossible, God doubtless arranging that those who had stood forth as the ministers of Divine vengeance against blaspheming infidels, should not suffer human justice on that account". (J. A. E. 193-195).
  7. Saladin captured Jerusalem 1186. Henry II, then king, demanded that his Christian subjects pay a tithe and his Jewish, a quarter on their chattels, to help retake the Holy City. The sum realized from the tax upon the Jews was £60,000, that from all the rest of the country, £70,000.
  8. The Crusades are said to have cost at least 5,000,000 lives. Like the Knights of Malta, the Crusaders were originally inspired by religious motives, but also like the former, they quickly degenerated. In the end they became vicious, licentious, and mercenary. At his best the Crusader was a fanatic. Now religious enthusiasm is attractive, but fanaticism, while it may achieve large results, lacks in appeal to reason. Re-

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igion is of course a matter of feeling, but it is more. "Mormon counts more votaries than Bentham". But the faith that is not anchored to reason is an unsafe guide. The Crusader fought for the restoration of Palestine. He regarded that restoration as essential, tho it really lacked religious necessity. He looked upon the Mohammedan as a pagan. The Jew he also thought an infidel. He began by loving Palestine. He ended by hating all not of his faith.

9. The Bishop of Ruthard, and the Archbishops Herman and Egbert tried to protect the Jews during the first Crusade, as did Bernard of Clairvaux during the second.
10. Naturally the Crusades intensified the feeling against the Jew. Thus they paved the way for further discriminating legislation. The restrictions imposed by Innocent III were the logical outcome. Furthermore, they affected the economic as well as the social condition of the Jew. Previously trade between the East and West had been almost wholly in Jewish hands. Now a large part of it passed into the hands of Christian merchants.
11. Once Napoleon began to favor the Jews, he remained their consistent friend. His overthrow was a sad blow to them. In France during the debate on the question of Jewish citizenship, one man declares that the Jews could not make good soldiers, because their faith forbade fighting on the Sabbath. Another argued that they could not become good farmers or mechanics, because they had too many holidays.
12. Nathan, the eldest son of Mayer Rothschild came to England 1798. By the beginning of the 19th century, the influence of German Jews was beginning to overshadow that of the Portuguese.
13. Scott's picture of the suffering the Jew endured in the 12th century is not overdrawn. Remember he was writing not of his own day but of a time more than six hundred years old. Is it not remarkable that he described the conditions of that time so accurately? Writing of "Old Mortality" to Lady Louisa Stuart, he said "I am complete master of the whole history of these strange times both of persecution and persecuted. So I trust I have come decently off".
14. Isaac has his faults, but he loves his daughter. Shylock displays the same virtue. "To a close observer the Jew is per-

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haps the most affectionate of men, but all his affection was reserved for his family or race. His nature so hard and callous on the outside, remained tender in its innermost depths. The Jew too was a man—but he was a man toward his brethren only, toward those who treated him like a man. Against all others he clothed himself in an armor of spines, or rolled himself up in a ball, or else he shut himself in cold impassiveness". (Beaulieu. "Israel Among the Nations" 213f.)

15. "Ivanhoe" is variously estimated. "As a work of art Ivanhoe is perhaps the first of all Scott's efforts". Lockhart. "Ivanhoe never can be ranked with his highest achievements". Mrs. Oliphant. "Scott at his worst, excels all others at their best". Saintsbury.
16. "I am not, God knows, a bigot in religious matters", wrote Scott to Southey, "nor a friend to persecution". Yet he called Catholicism a "superstition" and declared it "silly, possessed of absurd ritual and solemnities and a good competence of nonsense".
17. Thackeray in his satirical way objects to the conclusion of "Ivanhoe" and in a somewhat humorous burlesque entitled "Rebecca and Rowena" presents a sequel to the story. The burlesque gives us some idea of Thackeray's attitude toward the Jew.
18. Sartain ("Reminiscences" 185) quotes from a letter of a relative of Rebecca Gratz in which the following reference occurs: "There had been a story in our Aunt Rebecca's life, a struggle between love and religion, in which duty conquered as it always did with her".

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Tell briefly the story of the Jew in England from the time of the Norman Conquest to 1189.
2. Describe the condition of the Jew in England during the reign of Richard I.
3. Describe the attack upon the Jews in York.
4. Were the Crusades justified? What were their results?
5. How did the Crusades involve the Jews? How did they affect their fortune?

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6. Compare the position of the Crusader, with that of the modern Zionist.
7. What was Napoleon's attitude toward the Jews in France? In other lands?
8. What bearing did the Congress of Vienna have on the position of the Jews?
9. What was the condition of the Jew in 1819 when "Ivanhoe" appeared?
10. What do you know of the defense of Masada?
11. Present the main facts in the life of Rebecca Gratz.
12. Compare Rebecca and Jessica.
13. "Isaac of York is but a milder Shylock". Compare the two.
14. What is the difference between a historian and a historical novelist? Should the novel always have a moral purpose?
15. Walter Bagehot insists that Scott's characters are all commonplace. Is the criticism just?
16. What do you think of Beaulieu's statement about the affection of the Jew?

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## LESSON VI.

### I. Required Reading.

"Alroy". Benjamin Disraeli. (1804-1881).

Chas. X. became king of France 1824. Unlike Louis XVIII after the second restoration, he chafed under the necessity of observing the democratic provisions of the new constitution, and soon attempted to reintroduce the absolutism of Louis XIV. The result was the revolution of 1830 which drove Louis XVIII into exile, and placed Louis Philippe on the throne. The revolution meant a new constitution for France and new privileges for its Jews. The very year in which it took place, Merilhou, minister of public education suggested that Judaism should be placed upon an exact equality with Christianity throughout the country, and that the Synagog and its rabbis should be supported by the government, as were the Church and its ministers. That suggestion became a law in 1831. A little later the rabbinical college which had been established in Metz in 1829, became a state institution and was granted an annual subsidy.

The effect of the French uprising of 1830 was felt all over Europe. Even England was not immune. The year before, the Catholic Relief bill was passed. At last English Catholics were freed

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from the disabilities which they had so long suffered. The year 1832 witnessed the triumph of the Reform bill, after a strenuous struggle. This measure secured to the people of England more equitable representation in Parliament. At this time there must have been a great many Jews in the country. Some had grown wealthy and occupied prominent positions; yet while they enjoyed, it is true, privileges which their predecessors had been denied, they still bore the burden of galling restrictions. That the spirit which was in the air, and expressing itself all over the continent, should have affected them, and finally have persuaded them to a concerted effort for complete emancipation, is not at all surprising. Fortunately their conduct and position had gained them many friends. In 1830, 2,000 citizens of Liverpool presented a petition to Parliament praying for the removal of Jewish disabilities. The first reading failed to pass even the House of Commons. The same was true of the second reading, spite of the fact that 14,000 people of London asked for its favorable consideration. This time however the vote was close, 265-228. "It is a monstrous indecency", said one opponent of the measure, "that the measure for the relief of the Jews, should be brought forward in Passion week". It was during the debate on this reading that Macaulay delivered his maiden speech in Parliament, and Jews have been under a debt of gratitude to him ever since. "Let the history of England be examined", he said, "and it will furnish topics enough against the Catholics.—But with respect to the Jews, it affords events exactly opposite; its pages as to these people are made up of wrongs suffered and injuries endured by them, without a trace of any wrong or injury committed in return; they are made up from the beginning to the end of atrocious cruelties inflicted on the one hand and grievous privations endured for conscience sake on the other. - - - If it is the moral right we are to look at, I say that on every principle of moral obligation, the Jew has a right to political power. - - - The points of difference between Christianity and Judaism have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a bishop or a rabbi. But they have no more to do with his fitness to be a magistrate, a legislator or a minister of finance than with his fitness to be a cobbler. - - - We hear of essentially Protestant governments, and essentially Christian governments, words which mean just as much as essentially Protestant cookery, or essentially Christian horsemanship. - - - What is proposed is not that Jews should legislate for a Christian community,

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but that a legislature composed of Christians and Jews should legislate for a community composed of Christians and Jews. - - - If the Jews have not felt toward England like children, it is because she has treated them like a step-mother".

The bill demanding the emancipation of the Jews was again introduced in 1833 and this time succeeded in passing the House of Commons, but was defeated by the Lords. The same year however Francis Goldsmid was admitted to the bar, the first Jew in England to enjoy this distinction. It was in this year that "Alroy" was written.

In 1813 Isaac Disraeli was fined £40 by the officials of the Bevis Marks synagog for refusing to accept the office of warden to which he had been elected. He declined to pay the fine and after some correspondence wrote, "I am under the painful necessity of wishing that my name be erased from the list of your members of Yehe-dim". He did not however become actively identified with Christianity. Benjamin was born 1804, and on the death of his grandfather in 1817, (his father no longer being affiliated with the Jewish community), was baptised, at the suggestion of the poet Samuel Rogers. His parents possibly did not urge the step, but feeling that Jewish birth would retard the advancement of their son, they registered no objection. But Benjamin could not forget that he was born a Jew. Nor could England. He went to school, and spite of his baptism, the students taunted him with his Jewish parentage. The treatment might have driven others into obscure retirement. But not Disraeli. "Man is not the creature of circumstances", he said later, "circumstances are the creatures of men". His motto was "Forti nihil difficile". He wrote "Vivian Grey" when he was but twenty-two and like Byron woke to find himself famous. "His thoughts on religious subjects" says Froude, "ran on Asiatic rather than on European lines". Born in England, his temperament was much more Oriental than Occidental. For him "eastward the course of empire took its way". He went to Spain whence his own direct ancestors had been exiled in 1492, and Venice, whither they had fled in search of a home, and where they lived when Shakespeare drew his "Shylock". He stopped at Malta and received royal welcome. What a contrast to the treatment accorded Barabas! And still the mystic East beckoned him on. "God never spoke except to an Arab" he said, and so he reached Palestine. At last he was in the land of his fathers, and he "dreamed dreams and saw visions".

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Why should not the national independence of Israel be restored? He returned to England and determined to enter Parliament. He was defeated, but he never lost heart nor abandoned hope. At last his perseverance was rewarded. New members of the house were expected "to be seen and not heard". Disraeli dared to defy tradition and to speak soon after he was elected. But the laughter, jeers and ridicule that greeted his every utterance made the attempt a woeful failure. Of course his garb was absurd and his daring unconventional, but he was also a Jew. "I will sit down now" he said, "but the day will come when you will listen to me". "This renegade Jew" O'Connell remarked, "is descended from the impenitent thief whose name was doubtless Disraeli". Disliked, opposed, abused because he was born a Jew, Disraeli set himself to the task of vindicating his position. His reply to the prejudices of his day is to be found in "Alroy" (1833), "Coningsby" (1844), "Tancred" (1847), and the tenth chapter of his "Life of George Bentinck" (1852). Brandes has written a life of Disraeli based almost wholly on his literary productions, because to such a degree did he write himself into his books that they constitute his autobiography. He is "Vivian Grey" and "Sidonia" and "Tancred" and "Alroy". We know the originals of some of Dickens' characters; but almost all the characters in Disraeli's novels were drawn from people who lived at the time he wrote. Writing as he did with a purpose, he could not detach himself from his books, and so when he wrote, he did not invent, he did not borrow, he simply spoke his own heart. That is why when we read his stories we see what he felt and believed. Nominally a Christian he glorified in the Jew, in his past, and his contributions to civilization. "My sympathies have always been with the people from whom I sprang". He was speaking of his political affiliations, but the words might also have been applied to his religious feelings. "There is no pride like the pride of ancestry, for it is a blending of all emotions. How immeasurably superior to the herd is the man whose father only is famous. Imagine then the feelings of one who can trace his line through a thousand years of heroes and princes". "A Jew is never seen upon the scaffold unless it be at an auto da fe.". "There is no race that so delights and fascinates and elevates and ennobles Europe as the Jewish". "It is impossible to destroy the Jews. A superior race shall never be destroyed nor absorbed by an inferior. The Jews represent all that is spiritual in our nature". "Persecute us? Why if you believe what

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you profess, you should kneel to us. You raise statues to the hero who saves a country. We have saved the human race, and you persecute us for doing it. Half Christendom worships a Jewess, and the other half a Jew.—Which is the superior race, the worshipped or the worshippers”?

Disraeli was interested in the past of his people, but also in their present. He not only favored the cause of Jewish emancipation, he fought openly for it, “unlike” says McCarthy, “some other men who carried on their faces the evidence of their Hebrew extraction, and yet made themselves conspicuous for their opposition to it”. “He may be said”, Froude claims, “to have brought the Jews into Parliament a quarter of a century before they would otherwise have been admitted there”. And Disraeli demanded the civil emancipation of the Jews on the ground not of tolerance but of justice and merit. Moreover at the Berlin Congress he assisted Waddington to secure the insertion of article 44 into the final form of the treaty, which article provided that Roumania should be granted independence on the specific condition that “difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person, as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employment, functions and honors, or the exercise of various professions and industries in any locality whatever”. That Roumania has failed to measure up to this condition in no way lessens the credit Disraeli deserves for the interest he displayed in the Jewish cause.

But while Disraeli may have been only nominally Christian, and while he may have spoken and written eloquently in behalf of the Jew, unless his professed acceptance of Christian doctrine was insincere, in belief at least he was not wholly Jewish. He calls Jesus “the Holy Author of Christianity, whose doctrines were the completion of Judaism”. “Christianity”, he says, “is completed Judaism or it is nothing”. He speaks of Baron Lionel de Rothschild as one who “was not only of the Jewish race, but unfortunately believed only in the first part of the Jewish religion”. On the other hand, Manini who was converted to Christianity, “is a Jew who professes the whole of the Jewish religion, and believes in Calvary as well as Sinai”. He deplores the fact “that several millions of the Jewish race should persist in believing in only a part of their religion” but he finds comfort in the thought, that “As the converted races become more humane in their behavior toward the Jews, and the latter

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have opportunity fully to comprehend and deeply to ponder over true Christianity it is difficult to suppose that the result will not be different".

✓ In the preface to "Alroy" Disraeli tells us that it was while visiting the Tombs of the Kings near Jerusalem, that he determined to write the book. The story is laid in the 12th century. The Jews were then more kindly treated in Asia than in Europe. Except during the reign of the Almohades in northern Africa and Spain, they always received more favor from the Mohammedans than from the Christians. In the distant East the center of Jewish life from 1100-1200 lay between the Euphrates and Tigris. While in all of Palestine, then controlled by Christians, there were only 1,000 Jewish families, in Mosul alone there were at least 7,000. And not only were the Jews numerous in the East but they enjoyed respect, prominence and influence. The Caliphate at this time, however, was in a deplorable state. Caring more for self-indulgence than the welfare of their people the Sultans lost much of their control. Their power too was weakened by the Crusades. (The second Crusade took place in 1147). Tribal leaders took advantage of the situation to rebel and set up independent kingdoms. In these conditions, David Alroy, born about 1160 at Amadia, saw an opportunity to restore the national independence of his people. Claiming to be a miracle worker, he called upon the Jews to rally to his support. A few responded. Some were irritated at the poll tax which all of their faith over fifteen had to pay. Others really viewed Alroy as the Messiah come to resurrect Israel's ancient glory. North of Mosul there lived also some wild Jewish tribes, who, ignorant and superstitious, joined the self-appointed leader as soon as he made his announcement. Alroy at once attacked Amadia, where, at the time, lived 1,000 Jewish families, with whose assistance he hoped to capture the city. His dream however was never realized. His forces badly routed, he himself was captured and probably put to death. Out of this meagre historic material, Disraeli constructed his interesting Oriental romance.

### II. Suggestions.

1. Gabriel Riesser's first pamphlet pleading for the political emancipation of the Jews of Germany was issued 1831.
2. Disraeli's grandfather had little to do with his people, while

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his grandmother was ashamed of being one of them. The action of their son Isaac therefore in wholly withdrawing from the synagog could hardly have been a surprise. "The inventions of the Talmud doctors", said he, "incorporated in their ceremonies, have bound them hand and foot and cast them into caverns of the lone and sullen genius of rabbinical Judaism, cutting them off from the great family of mankind, and perpetuating their sorrow and their shame". Benjamin writes of his father in terms of profoundest respect and admiration.

3. Baptism did not help Disraeli's advancement. The personal equation alone was responsible. He was in Parliament thirty years, was thrice chancellor of the Exchequer and twice Prime-minister. His success aided the cause of the Jews, but he also worked for that cause.
4. Zangwill calls Disraeli "The Primrose Sphinx". The primrose was supposed to be Disraeli's favorite flower. The day his statue was unveiled a league was organized, whose members pledged themselves to wear the flower on every anniversary of Disraeli's birth. In 1904 the league claimed 1,676,425 members. Zangwill's story is worth reading. "I will not quote from it", says Elbert Hubbard, "that gem of letters must ever stand together without subtraction of a word. It belongs to the realm of the lapidary and its facets cannot be transferred". Disraeli is called the "Sphinx" because there is so much about him that is difficult to understand. "All sensible men are of one religion", he said. "What is that religion"? "Sensible men never tell". Nominally a Christian, his feelings are Jewish. A Tory in politics he supports liberal movements. Oriental in temperament, he is yet thoroly English. A dreamer, if ever there was one, he possesses a penetrating understanding of men and a practical grasp of contemporary events. One moment he seems feelingless; the next he is full of sentiment. "Mormon counts more votaries than Bentham". "While Disraeli never forgot a friend", says Froude, "he never remembered a personal affront". Carlyle denounced him and hated the Jews. Yet Disraeli was the only English leader who saw the disgrace that rested upon his country in allowing Carlyle to live unhonored and unrewarded. "Well, well", said the brusque philosopher after his benefactor's death, "poor fellow, I dare say if we knew all about him, we should have to

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think differently". Leech had caricatured Disraeli in *Punch* for twenty years. Yet when Leech died, Disraeli had the man's pension continued for his wife and child. Who can solve the riddle of the Sphinx?

5. At the height of Disraeli's success three verses from "In Memoriam" were applied to him. The application was then ridiculed. When he died the lines were again quoted, for they told the story of his life.

"Who breaks his birth's invidious bar  
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,  
And breasts the blows of circumstance,  
And grapples with his evil star;

Who makes by force his merits known,  
And lives to clutch the golden keys,  
To mould a mighty state's decrees,  
And shape the whisper of the throne;

And moving up from high to higher  
Becomes on fortune's crowning slope,  
The pillar of the people's hope,  
The centre of a world's desire".

6. Defending Judaism and the Jew, Disraeli always professed an orthodox Christianity. But that Christianity he never tired of insisting was only developed Judaism. "Jesus was a great man, but he was a Jew". "The Christianity I draw from your books, is not the Christianity you practice". "Christianity is Judaism for the multitude".
7. Disraeli feels that he cannot exaggerate the influence of race. "All is race". "The principle of races is the key of history". "Only one thing makes a race and that is blood". "An unmixed race of a first rate organization, are the aristocracy of nature". "You cannot destroy a pure race of Caucasian organization". And he prides himself on his Jewish birth because he believes that "The Hebrew is an unmixed race". The suggestion did not appeal to George Eliot. "As to his theory of races", she said, speaking of Disraeli, "it has not a leg to stand on, and can only be buoyed up by such windy eloquence



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as, "You chubby faced, squabby nosed Europeans, owe your commerce, your arts, your religion, to the Hebrews; nay the Hebrews lead your armies, in proof of which he can tell us that Massena, a second rate general of Napoleon's was a Jew whose real name was Manasseh".

8. "Nationality", said Disraeli, "is the miracle of political independence. Race is the principle of physical analogy". Arguing the purity of the Jewish race he saw no reason why the Jews should not regain political independence. George Eliot criticises Disraeli's views on the question of race. Yet both were Zionists. "Alroy" is but an expression of Zionist feeling and hope.
9. Misled by his philosophy of Jewish racialism, Disraeli claims as Jews many who were not even born in the faith and others, who whatever their birth, certainly lived no Jewish life.
10. Yet in tracing the Jewish character and origin of much that is today termed Christian, even in arguing the Jewish tendency of Jesus himself, Disraeli is at one with the best liberal religious thought of today, Christian and Jewish.
11. As Disraeli dreamed, he prophesied, and many of his prophecies came true. But he compelled their triumphant realization.
12. It is worth noting that all the Jewish characters portrayed by Disraeli are painted in attractive colors.
13. Moreover tho nearly all the figures he drew were fashioned after living originals, and tho he was a keen satirist, few of the people transferred to his pages, took offense. There was nothing bitter or ugly in his satire. In this he differed from Swift and Voltaire.
14. "The Rise of Iskander" also is an Oriental tale. It describes the conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism.
15. When Mohammed first announced his revelation, he found little sympathy among the Jews. That fact led him to eliminate from the faith he founded, many Jewish features which otherwise would have been retained. On the whole Mohammedanism always was more kindly disposed toward the Jews than was Christianity. The fanatical Almohades however of the 12th and 13th centuries persecuted relentlessly and during their reign many Jews fled from their homes. Others realizing that Mohammedanism taught the unity of God, professed

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conversion, as did the Maranos. Their distress however at the necessity of even such nominal desertion of the faith of their fathers led Maimonides to write his "Letter Concerning Conversion", in which he practically justified the step they had taken.

16. Maimonides was physician to Saladin. In "Alroy" Honain is physician to the Caliph. Jews were often medical advisers to royalty. Yet the charge was frequently made that Jewish physicians poisoned their patients.
17. The "Tombs of the Kings" of which Disraeli speaks in his preface to "Alroy" lie about a mile beyond the wall of Jerusalem. Tradition has it that these tombs belonged to Kalba Sabua, whose daughter, Akiba is said to have married. Others however claim that Queen Helena of Adiabne, who with her son Izates became converted to Judaism, was interred here.
18. Benjamin of Tudela, the great Jewish traveler of the 12th century, is responsible for the statement that after Alroy was captured, he managed to escape, and was finally put to death by his father-in-law, to prevent the further persecution of the Jews by the Sultan.
19. Alroy claimed that he was the long expected Jewish Messiah. Thruout the course of Jewish history there arose a host of such pretenders; Meirachem ben Judah, Moses of Crete, Serene, Abraham Abulafia, Asher Lemlein, David Reubeni, Solomon Molko, Isaac Luria and others. One of the most important, in point of influence exerted, was Shabbethai Zebi (1626-1676). Captured by the soldiers of Mohammed IV. this impostor quickly embraced the Moslem faith, and was at once given a comfortable berth by the Sultan.
20. Under the leadership of Bar Kokba, the Jews attempted (132-135) to regain the political independence they had lost to Rome. The attempt was a disastrous failure. It was during this revolt that Akiba met his death. Bar Kokba fell at Beth-ar. In "The Son of a Star", a romantic novel based on this period of Jewish history, Richardson attributes Bar Kokba's defeat to his marriage out of the faith. Compare with Alroy's marriage to Schirene the daughter of the Caliph.
21. Spite of Alroy's failure, there were those who, long after his death, still continued to believe in him. Because of his other name, Menahem ben Suleiman, they called themselves the Menahemites.

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22. Alroy attacked Amadia. Disraeli makes it Hamadan in Persia. In the 12th century Hamadan had a Jewish population of 50,000. Today it has 5,000.
23. Disraeli is recognized as one of the greatest statesmen of the 19th century. Despite political restrictions, Jews often held prominent political positions. Of course their influence and the number of their representatives in high official circles increased when these restrictions were removed. Riesser, Cremieux, Fould, Gambetta, Judah P. Benjamin, and Stahl, who Lord Acton said was a greater force than Disraeli, were all notable Jewish statesmen
24. "Of all his achievements" said one critic some years ago, "there remains to his nation only the Suez Canal shares, and the possession of Cyprus, and to his Queen, the gaudy title of Empress of India. All else that Beaconsfield did for England has either been undone or forgotten". Yet "he had accomplished after all", says Froude, "more positive practical good, than his rivals who boasted so loudly". "Had Disraeli", Zangwill contends, "remained within the ghetto, he might have applied his unifying intellect to Israel instead of to the British Empire, as sprawling and incoherent in his day as Israel is in ours".
25. Thackeray burlesques Disraeli in "Codlingsby" as he did Scott in "Rowena and Rebecca". "Half the Hebrew's life is a disguise" is his uncomplimentary belief.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What conditions obtaining in 1830 prompted the Jews of England to ask for political emancipation? What reception was accorded their request?
2. What was Macaulay's attitude toward the disabilities of the Jews?
3. Give the main facts in the life of Isaac Disraeli.
4. Why was Benjamin converted? How did this conversion affect (a) his own feelings? (b) the Christians who knew and met him?
5. What did Disraeli think of the Jew, of Judaism, and of Christianity?
6. How did his life affect the position of the Jews in England?
7. What part did he play in the Berlin congress?

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8. Who was David Alroy? How much of Disraeli's tale is historic, and how much the product of a fertile Oriental imagination?
9. Why does Zangwill call Disraeli the "Primrose Sphinx"?
10. What were Disraeli's ideas of race and nationality?
11. Is it birth or conviction that makes the Jew?
12. Note Disraeli's habit of claiming as Jews men who were never born in the faith. It has been said that the tendency is characteristically Jewish. Is this so?
13. How did Mohammed look upon Judaism? How have Mohammedans generally treated the Jews? Who were the Almohades? What is the attitude of Turkey and Egypt toward the Jews today?
14. What is meant by crypto-Jews? Is feigned conversion ever justifiable?
15. What part have the Jews played in the medical profession?
16. What are the "Tombs of the Kings"?
17. Who was Benjamin of Tudela?
18. Name some false Messiahs.
19. Who was Bar Kokba?
20. How could Jews become prominent in the political life of countries which did not recognize their civil rights? Name some great Jewish statesmen of the 19th century.
21. Like Disraeli the Jew is charged with being ostentatious. Is the charge true?
22. What were the achievements of Disraeli?

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## LESSON VII.

### I. Required Reading.

"Oliver Twist" and "Our Mutual Friend". Charles Dickens.  
(1812-1870).

"Alroy" was written in 1833. The attempt to secure the complete emancipation of the Jew that year was a failure. The same may be said of the attempt in the following year; the bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords by a majority of 92. Plainly England was not yet ready to give the Jew his due, but it was equally plain that the cause of the Jew was making progress, and that it was not to be long before this victim of age-long injustice should step into his own. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy was passed, excluding Catholics from the House of Commons. By the Test Act of 1678 they were also debarred from entering the House of Lords. Not until 1829 were these restrictions removed. Officeholders, however, were still required to take the Oath of Abjuration, which included the words, "On the true faith of a Christian". Naturally these words made it impossible for a Jew to hold an office even if he were elected to it. The climax came in 1835 when David

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Salomons was elected sheriff of London. So well-known was he, and so prominent had the Jewish Question become, that Parliament at once passed the "Sheriff's Declaration Act" whereby he was permitted to enter upon his office without repeating the objectionable phrase. The Act however referred to the position of Sheriff only, so that tho Salomons was the same year elected Alderman of the Ward of Aldgate, because he could not and would not take the required oath, the office was declared vacant and finally given to a Christian. Further advance was made the next year when Parliament decreed that "Jews may contract marriages according to Jewish usage, provided both parties are of the Jewish religion, and that a registrar's certificate has been obtained". Prior to that time only those marriages were considered legal which were performed by a Christian minister. In 1837, Moses Montefiore succeeded Salomons as sheriff, and was knighted by Queen Victoria.

There are men who become embittered by hardship. The trials of youth make them cruel in manhood. The early surroundings of Dickens were extremely humble. He knew much of the disadvantages of poverty and little of the comfort of plenty. "David Copperfield" is largely biographical. Reading of the privations of its hero, we see those of its author. But early adversity did not make Dickens a pessimist. Just the contrary. He was always the optimist, but his sympathies were almost wholly with the poor. Some one has said that he did not know how to draw a gentleman, and it is a noticeable fact that all his characters described as holding prominent social positions, are drawn in unfavorable colors. It is as tho the remembrance of his own past, had prejudiced him against those who basked in the sunshine of wealth. "He takes the slums and raggedest miseries of London", says Lanier, "and plumps them boldly down in the parlors of high life". But he writes of them as if he understood them, as if he felt that heredity and environment and society itself were largely responsible for them. Dickens was always interested in the submerged tenth. He sympathized with all who were denied opportunity and social justice. His heart went out to them, and he did all in his power to help them. "I confess I have yet to learn", he said speaking of the thieves' den in 'Oliver Twist', "that a lesson of the purest good may not be drawn from the vilest evil. - - - I saw no reason when I wrote this book, why the very dregs of life, so long as their speech did not offend the ear, should not serve the purpose of a moral, at least as well as its froth

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and cream. Nor did I doubt that there lay festering in St. Giles, as good materials toward the truth as any flaunting in St. James's". Dickens wrote to raise the social level. Fortunately he did not write in vain.

Yet in 1837 he published "Oliver Twist", describing as vicious a Jewish character as had appeared in the pages of fiction for many a day. The book appeared just when the Jew in England was battling most desperately for a recognition of his rights, just, indeed, when it seemed that at last he was to win. Now there is not the slightest doubt that this volume checked the advancement of Jewish emancipation. Of course "Fagin" was but a single Jewish figure, but anti-Semites have always been ready to seize upon any situation reflecting upon the Jew, and to generalize from it by saying, "All Jews are alike". How are we to explain the fact that Dickens, who felt so keenly for the victims of misfortune and injustice, was satisfied at such a critical hour to picture the Jew as a criminal without a redeeming virtue?

"I had read of thieves by scores", he says, "but I had never met except in Hogarth with the miserable reality. It appeared to me that to draw a knot of such associates in crime as really do exist; to paint them in all their deformity and all their wickedness, in all the squalid poverty of their lives, to show them as they really are, forever skulking uneasily through the dirtiest paths of life, with the great black ghastly gallows closing up their prospect, turn them where they may; it appeared to me that to do this, would be to attempt a something which was greatly needed, and which would be a service to society".

Edgar Mels (see J. E. "Dickens") says that "the name Fagin was derived from a Christian friend of Dickens' youth, the whole character from a well-known Christian 'fence' of the period". George Cruikshank the artist however, claims not only that he illustrated "Oliver Twist" but that he also suggested much of its plot and many of its characters to Dickens. In a letter to the London Times Dec. 29, 1871, after relating how he came to be associated with the novelist in this particular venture, he went on to say: "I had a long time previously to this directed Mr. Dickens's attention to 'Field Lane' Holborn Hill, wherein resided many thieves and receivers of stolen goods, and it was suggested that one of these receivers, a Jew, should be introduced into the story; and upon one occasion Mr. Dickens and Mr. Harrison Ainsworth called upon me at my house



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in Myddleton Terrace, Pentonville, and in course of conversation, I then and there described and performed the character of one of these Jew receivers who I had long had my eye upon; and this was the origin of Fagin.—Long before "Oliver Twist" was ever thought of, I had by permission of the city authorities, made a sketch of the condemned cells in Newgate prison; and as I had a great object in letting the public see what sort of places these cells were, and how they were furnished, and also to show a wretched condemned criminal therein, I thought it desirable to introduce such a subject into this work; but I had the greatest difficulty to get Mr. Dickens to allow me to carry out my wishes in this respect, but I said I must either have what is called a Christian or what is called a Jew in a condemned cell, and therefore it must be "Bill Sykes" or "Fagin"; at length he allowed me to exhibit the latter".

Whatever the origin of the Jewish character in "Oliver Twist", it seems certain that Dickens entertained no personal prejudice against the Jew. Nor could he have anticipated the effect his book would have on the Jewish problem in his day. Whatever the purpose of "Oliver Twist" it was not written to hurt the Jew. This the author made plain long after the volume appeared. In 1863 a Jewess of London wrote to him expressing her surprise that "Charles Dickens, the large-hearted, whose works plead so eloquently for the oppressed of his country, has encouraged a vile prejudice against the despised Hebrew". The answer was characteristic of the man. "Fagin in "Oliver Twist", he wrote, "is a Jew, because it unfortunately was true at the time to which that story refers that that class of criminal almost invariably was a Jew. But surely, no sensible man or woman of your persuasion can fail to observe—firstly, that all the rest of the wicked dramatis personae are Christians, and—secondly, that he is called a Jew not because of his religion but because of his race. If I were to write a story in which I described a Frenchman or a Spaniard as the "Roman Catholic", I should do a very indecent and unjustifiable thing, but I make mention of Fagin as the Jew, because he is one of the Jewish people, and because it conveys that kind of idea of him which I should give my readers of a Chinaman, by calling him Chinese".

The reply was frank, honest, sincere. But Dickens must soon have realized that it neither explained nor justified "Fagin". If the truth had never come home to him before, now at least he must have begun to realize the harm that character had done the Jew in Eng-

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land. The blunder, it is true, had been due rather to ignorance than to malice, but the result had been the same. Under the spell of this conviction, he at once began to write "Our Mutual Friend", in which "Riah" was unquestionably intended to be an apology for "Fagin". For while the latter was pictured as the embodiment of vice, the former was drawn as a paragon of virtue. Unfortunately an apology never really rights a wrong. "Our Mutual Friend" appeared 28 years after "Oliver Twist". Had it appeared the next year, the next day, it would not have succeeded in neutralizing the latter's unfortunate influence. For evil report travels much faster and further than good. And then while men quickly reject every suggestion that proves their position to be illogical and untenable, they readily adopt every argument that supports their prejudices. And that is why, tho the motive of "Our Mutual Friend" was the best, tho "Riah" was a veritable angel, Dickens never succeeded in eliminating the evil consequences of "Fagin". Still, he did not only all possible, but all that any honorable man could have done to make good the wrong for which he had been responsible. As an appreciation of his manly apology, the Jewess who had criticised him for "Oliver Twist", sent him, on the appearance of "Our Mutual Friend", a copy of Benisch's Hebrew and English Bible, inscribed with these words: "Presented to Charles Dickens Esq. in grateful and admiring recognition of his having exercised the noblest quality man can possess, that of atoning for an injury as soon as conscious of having inflicted it." To which Dickens replied: "The terms in which you send me that mark of remembrance, are more gratifying to me than I can possibly express to you, for they assure me there is nothing but good-will felt between me and a people for whom I have a real regard, and to whom I would not willingly have given an offence or done an injustice for any worldly consideration".

### II. Suggestions.

1. "Oliver Twist" was written 1837. By that time the Jew in England was enjoying more rights than he ever knew before. The improvement in his position was due in part to the good-will of friends, but also to his own insistent demand that justice be done him. If England could afford to emancipate its Catholic inhabitants, and give the people as a whole the Parliamentary representation they deserved, he argued that it should be equally considerate to its Jewish subjects.

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2. "Oliver Twist" was written the year Queen Victoria ascended the throne. Knighting a Jew, she at once indicated her attitude toward all his coreligionists. During her reign the cause of the Jew steadily prospered, achieving complete triumph before she died.
3. "After making his readers merry with "Pickwick" Dickens had thrilled them with "Oliver Twist", and by the one book as by the other, he had made them think better of mankind". Ward. But he did not make them think better of the Jew.
4. Dickens could not grasp the vital distinction between religion, race and nationality. He used the title Jew, as he would have used the word Chinese.
5. With Stevenson, Dickens might have said, "What a strange idea to think me a Jew-hater". But often a man is injured by his friends.
6. Dickens at first would not believe that calling "Fagin" a Jew, in any way reflected on other Jews. Finally the truth dawned on him. "I reflected", he makes Riah say in telling of his connection with Fledgeby, "I reflected for the first time, that in bending my neck to the yoke, I was willing to wear, I bent the necks of the whole Jewish people. For it is not in Christian countries with the Jews as with other people. Men say "This is a bad Greek, but there are good Greeks. This is a bad Turk, but there are good Turks". Not so with the Jews. Men find the bad among us easily enough, (among what peoples are the bad not easily found?), but they take the worst of us as samples of the best; they take the lowest of us as presentations of the highest; and they say "All Jews are alike".
7. By 1865 when "Our Mutual Friend" was written, Jewish emancipation in England was practically complete. But Dickens did not help to gain it. Perhaps it would have been achieved much earlier had it not been for this influence. "Riah" could not redeem "Fagin".
8. Yet once Dickens recognized the wrong he had done, he not only apologized, but tried to make reparation. Returning from his first visit to America in 1842, he criticised a great many expressions of American life. On his second visit in 1862, he frankly acknowledged that he had done this country an injustice and added: "This testimony so long as I live and so long as my descendants have any legal right, in my books, I shall

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cause to be republished as an appendix to every copy of those two books of mine, in which I have referred to America". So, after being shown that he was mistaken in saying that the Jew "is charged with an unpatriotic disinclination to stand by the flag as a soldier, like the Christian Quaker", Mark Twain at once admitted the injustice of his charge, and wrote an apology which has ever since appeared as a postscript to his original article. (See "Concerning the Jews" in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg").

9. Dickens "expands traits into people". Bagehot. He generalizes from the special instead of specializing from the general. Instead of first determining human nature and then delineating a character that shall suggest it, he first describes his character and then defines it as a type.
10. Mackenzie suggests the originals of many of Dickens' characters. The original of "Micawber" and "Turveydrop" for example was his father, of Mrs. "Nickleby", his mother, of "Dora" in "David Copperfield" and "Flora" in "Little Dorrit", his wife, and of "Little Nell", Mary Hogarth. But Mackenzie can find no Jew after whom "Fagin" could have been patterned. "Why Dickens should have made him a Jew", writes Rimmer, "is not apparent, for Jews as a rule are among the most law-abiding subjects in any land. But it is said that he was a real portrait. Still he is not a representative character. Men bred and born in London, or Birmingham, or Liverpool, Gentiles let us say, of no very defined creed, could much more easily be found to fill the character".
11. In his "Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis", published 1800, P. Colquhoun attributes a great deal of the vice of the time to the influence of the Jews. In 1909 police commissioner Bingham said that 50% of the criminals in the city of New York, were Jews. Later he admitted that his figures were exaggerated. Of 50,717 prisoners in all save four of the state prisons of the country, in 1906, only 721 were Jews. Of 1615 prisoners in the Ohio penitentiary in 1909, 26 were Jews. In Germany in 1891, while of the entire population there were 1073 criminals for every 100,000 inhabitants, among the Jews there were only 799. In Austria in 1890 the Jews constituted 4.8% of the total population but they were responsible for only 3.6% of the criminality of the country.

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12. Just as usurers have been called Shylocks since the days of Shakespeare, so receivers of stolen goods have been called Fagins since the publication of "Oliver Twist".
13. Notice that "Fagin" is now a familiar name, while few can identify "Riah".
14. The Jew is sometimes partially, tho never wholly responsible for the prejudice that exists against him. He does not start the fire but often he lends fuel to it. A Jewess helped to correct the mistakes of Dickens. So even when the prejudice against him is absolutely undeserved, the Jew must not sit idly by waiting for it to disappear. He must labor to remove it.
15. Dickens tried to make "Riah" the very opposite of "Fagin". Yet "Riah" still cringes to Fledgeby, and is still a money-lender.
16. "Thackeray does not take as genial a view of men and women as Dickens. He sees men and manners with the jaundiced eye of a pessimist, whereas his great competitor sees good in everything, and has a heart boiling over with good to all mankind. None so poor but he can do him reverence; none so depraved in whom he cannot detect some redeeming quality. - - - Thackeray constructs imaginary lay figures which he considers as typical representatives of a class. But Dickens portraits - - - are drawn from real flesh and blood. - - - The characters in Dickens' writings which have been the most severely criticised as exaggerated or distorted are actual transcripts of the originals". Thackeray and Dickens lived and wrote at the same time, in the same country. Yet from the one you gain a low, from the other, a high, estimate of life. We laugh at the characters of Thackeray. We laugh with those of Dickens.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Describe the progress of Jewish emancipation in England between "Alroy" and "Oliver Twist".
2. What was Dickens' attitude toward the Jews? What was his reason for calling "Fagin" a Jew?
3. How did "Fagin" affect the cause of the Jew?
4. What is the difference between a religion, a race and a nationality? What are the Jews?

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5. What is meant by the statement that Dickens was "the advocate of the absent"?
6. What do you think of Dickens' description of the lower life of London?
7. What apology did Dickens make for "Fagin"?
8. Compare "Fagin" with "Riah". Compare "Riah" with "Sheva".
9. Why is "Fagin" so much better known than "Riah"?
10. What part has the Jew played in the history of crime? Is he more conspicuous in criminal ranks today than he used to be? If so, why?
11. Does the Jew make "rishus" as the saying goes? What can he do to lessen, if not to remove the prejudice that exists against him?
12. Compare Dickens and Thackeray.
13. Mrs. Milvey learning that Lizzie is staying at Riah's, fears that he will try to convert her. Lizzie reassures her. "They never talk of their religion to us, and they never talk of ours to us". Is Judaism a missionary religion?
14. Chapter XIII of "Our Mutual Friend" is introduced with these words: "Give a dog a bad name and hang him". The reference is to Fledgeby's denunciation of "Riah". Has it a deeper significance?

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### LESSON VIII.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Vale of Cedars". Grace Aguilar. (1812-1847).

"The Vale of Cedars" was written in 1835 but it was not published until 1850. We have already seen that when "Oliver Twist" appeared, the cause of the Jews in England was bright with promise if not with realization. By the middle of the century, their position had improved still more. It is true that after the defeat of the bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities in 1836, no further attempt was made by the Jewish community to enlarge the circle of its privileges until 1840. And then attention was concentrated on the effort to gain admission to municipal offices. Even here success was not achieved until 1845. In 1846 the Religious Opinions Relief bill was passed, and the Jews now enjoyed every right save that of entering Parliament. The same year Moses Montefiore and Anthony de Rothschild were made baronets. In 1847 Baron Lionel de Rothschild was elected to Parliament, but was refused admission because he would not submit to the prescribed oath. The House of Commons was willing to permit the omission of the objectionable words, but the Lords would not agree to it. Then came the revolution of 1848. The whole continent was affected, the result spelling fuller emancipation not only for the masses at large but also for the Jews. In practically every land in Europe the lot of the Jew began to improve. In Prussia and Austria Jews were admitted to the highest official circles. But England watched the whole development, undisturbed. When the French Revolution began, the English were stirred by it. But when the excesses of the Reign of Terror culminated, a reaction set in, so that for a time radical political ideas were exceedingly unpopular in England. In 1848 history repeated itself. All the countries of Europe were then according the Jews

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increased recognition. Yet when in 1850 Baron Rothschild was re-elected to Parliament, he was still not permitted to take his seat. Political discrimination was dying in England, but it was dying hard.

Grace Aguilar wrote in 1842 of "the free and blessed soil of England". Plainly, tho his rights were not all recognized, the Jew in England at that time nevertheless enjoyed much favor. This is attested by the Mansion House meeting, called in 1840. Syria was then under the control of Mohammed Ali of Egypt. Upon the disappearance of Father Thomas of Damascus, the French consul of that city and the Turkish governor charged the Jews with having put him to death. The charge was of course vigorously denied, but wringing a confession from a Jewish barber whom they tortured, they threw a number of the most prominent citizens of the place into prison, and subjected the latter to the most inhuman treatment. Finally the governor appealed to Mohammed Ali for authority to execute his prisoners on the ground that he was convinced of their guilt. At once protest meetings were held in New York, Philadelphia, Paris and London. The London meeting was called by the Lord mayor at the urgent request of many leading merchants of the metropolis. Stirring addresses were delivered, and the resolutions that were adopted were forthwith communicated to the resident ambassadors of all the powers of Europe. As a result of this meeting Sir Moses Montefiore, accompanied by Isaac Cremieux and Solomon Munk of France, went to Alexandria to intercede with the Khedive. Their mission was successful, but by the time they had secured an order for the release of the prisoners in Damascus, only nine of the fourteen originally taken into custody, remained alive. The delegation then waited on the Sultan of Turkey, and persuaded him to issue a formal declaration declaring that the ritual murder charge had absolutely no foundation in fact. The Jews of France proposed striking a medal in Cremieux's honor. This he declined, asking that instead contribution be made to the support of the schools he had established at Alexandria and Cairo. It was even suggested that the anniversary of the release of the prisoners should be observed each year. "Would", said Munk, "that the sad Damascus incident might at least serve to make us take cognizance of our disorganized condition, which tho mournful to contemplate, is unfortunately a fact. Would that it might show us that in times of danger, we must rely upon ourselves, and that the bond that formerly united us might be renewed". Jews and Christians vied with each other in doing Mon-



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teffore honor when he returned to England. Adding to the distinction he already enjoyed, the Queen, reviewing the story of his journey said: "We have taken these facts into our royal consideration, and desire to give to Montefiore a special mark of our royal favor, in memory of his persevering efforts on behalf of his suffering and persecuted brethren in the East, and of his nation in general".

Grace Aguilar lived during these thrilling events and they must have stirred her sensitive and religious being to its profoundest depths. If Disraeli was the first Jewish writer to contribute to English fiction, she was the second. The former wrote of the Jew in defense of his birth; the latter, out of love for her faith and her people. Born in 1816, she labored from her infancy under the handicap of a weak constitution which made it necessary for her parents to take her constantly from place to place in search of health and strength. In this way she was almost wholly cut off from Jewish association. But what she thus lost was more than made up by the careful religious training she received at home. Frail bodies often enclose brilliant intellects and intensely devotional souls. Invalid that she was, Grace Aguilar wrote and wrote well while she was yet a child, and she was still under twenty when she began to write on religious subjects. Except for the conversionists she never had an unkind word to say of Christianity or Christians. But Judaism was to her "the most life-breathing, comfort giving religion of any over the known world". "We have been charged", she wrote in her introduction to "The Jewish Faith", "We have been charged as having exhibited in a former work an intolerant spirit—a charge to a heart filled with love for all its kind, be their creed what it may, more exquisitely painful than any other censure. It may be, that in earnest defense of our own, we may not have been as careful or as charitable in words, as God knows we are in heart—that the warmth of defense may have merged into attack; but if so, it was as unintentional at the time, as deeply regretted when pointed out afterwards. We shrink from all controversy. We would give every man that liberty of conscience which we ask for ourselves. We would simply instill the beauty, the holiness, the comfort, and the eternal duration of the religion God gave to Moses, into the inmost hearts of our own". "We know not, we never could discover, the distinction between Jewish and Christian spirituality.—But if the imbibing of Christian spirituality will do our young sisters no harm, the imbibing of the peculiar creed of the Christian undoubtedly will". "Religion is the

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only subject in which prejudice in favor of one's own is a positive virtue". "Could Christians once properly understand the pure spirit of the Mosaic faith, the real intent of all its ceremonies, the immortal hopes, the universal benevolence it breathes, the strength it infuses, the comfort it bestows, they would perhaps see how perfectly unnecessary it is, either for the Hebrew's happiness in heaven, or his spiritual welfare upon earth, to make him a convert to their faith. - - - It is the author's earnest hope—to remove many of the prejudices concerning the Hebrew nation, by drawing aside the blinding veil in which ignorance had enveloped her, and touch some hearts which are not entirely closed against conviction and benevolence, with love and veneration for that people so long the standing witness alike of the truth of God and of His word." It was this feeling that led her to translate "Israel Defended" by Orobio de Castro, (1831) and to write "The Martyr" (1831), "The Vale of Cedars" (1835), "The Spirit of Judaism" (1842), "Home Scenes and Heart Studies" (1843), "The Women of Israel" (1845), and "The Jewish Faith" (1846).

We catch a glimpse of the purpose she intended her Jewish stories to serve when we read what she thought of the Jewish characters that had already appeared in English fiction. "The word Jew has become synonymous with all that is debased—with a bowed and bowing servility, with exacting usury, with hard exclusiveness, and with a merciless hatred of all mankind, and a detestation of every religion but his own. With but two noble exceptions, (Scott and Mrs. S. C. Hall in the "Buccaneer") authors delight in fabling us as the Shylock of Shakespeare, the old clothes-man of nursery tales, (noticed thus even by Miss Edgeworth), or as the money-lenders, interest-exactors, and dishonorable adepts in all the grades of usury which abound in fashionable novels. - - - The mischief which is done by such false pictures of the Jewish character in social and domestic life is incalculable. It not only fosters prejudice and confirms ignorance in our opponents, but actually causes many Jews themselves to tremble at the term, and endeavor to conceal a faith and descent which should be their glory. Even those domestic narrations which portray some members of a Jewish family in a favorable light that they may conclude by making them Christians, and the other members so stern, hard and oppressive, that they bear no resemblance whatever to any Israelite, except the Israelite of a Gentile's imagination—do but swell the catalog of dangerous because

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false works, and never fail to impress the minds of Christian readers with the unalterable conviction, that whenever spirituality, amiability, and gentleness, kindness and love, are inmates of a Hebrew heart, it is an unanswerable proof that that heart is verging on Christianity, and will very speedily embrace that faith".

Serious illness in 1847 made it absolutely necessary for Miss Aguilar to go to the continent at once. Before she left England, a number of the Jewish women of London presented her with a gift and an appreciative address, in which, recounting all that she had done for her religion and her people, they spoke of her as "the first woman who had stood forth as the public advocate of the faith of Israel". Her last words spelled on her fingers were "Tho He slay me yet will I trust in Him" (Job XIII 15), and her epitaph was taken from Proverbs XXXI 31, "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own words praise her in the gates".

The scene of "The Vale of Cedars" is Spain; the date 1479. Remembering the fact that Grace Aguilar was born of Marano ancestry, and that her forefathers fled from persecution in Spain and sought refuge in England in the 18th century, it is not surprising to find her interested in the history of her people in that land. Jews must have reached Spain at a very early date, for Paul desired to go there and preach to them. For some time they evidently lived in peace, since the first recorded movement against them was the action of the Council of Elvira (303-304), forbidding Christians to live with them. The first active persecution, however, was inaugurated by Sisebut at the beginning of the 7th century. It is said that as a result of this antagonism 90,000 Jews were converted to Christianity. With the coming of the Mohammedans, 711, the skies brightened for the Jews in Spain. For four centuries and more they lived contented, happy and prosperous. It was their "golden age", their "earthly paradise", their "garden of Eden". All this changed however when the Almohades gained control in 1150. These fanatical Mohammedan rulers offered no alternative but conversion or death. The vast majority of the Jews therefore were forced to flee, most of them going to northern Spain which at that time was in the hands of the Catholics. So long as the Moslems remained in the country, the Christian rulers welcomed the Jewish refugees and treated them kindly. But as the Catholic power grew and the Mohammedan declined, the Popes began to accord the land more attention and to object to the favor shown the Jews. Despite this objection, the Cath-

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olic sovereigns of Spain feeling that they needed the assistance of their Jewish subjects, protected them, but they could not check the growing prejudice. The year 1360 marked the beginning of the end. By 1380 Jews who espoused their faith openly were denied many of the rights enjoyed by other Spanish subjects. They could hold few offices, and were compelled to live in separate quarters. In 1391 they became the victims of terrible massacres. 4000 were slain in Seville, and 2000 in Cordova. Under these trying conditions thousands gave up their faith while other thousands became Maranos. In 1469 Isabella, sister of Henry IV of Castile, married Ferdinand the crown prince of Aragon. Moorish power in Spain was then practically at an end, and the country was now a united Catholic dominion. In 1480 the Inquisition was introduced. Isabella seems to have been sincere in her desire to make the land solidly Catholic. Ferdinand saw in the plan a splendid opportunity to enrich himself with the possessions of the Maranos. The climax came in March 1492, when an edict banishing all the Jews from the kingdom was issued. In vain did Isaac Abravanel, royal treasurer, plead with the royal couple to withdraw the decree, and offer them 30,000 ducats for clemency. Bursting in upon the interview with crucifix dramatically held on high, Torquemada, the head of the Inquisition, cried, "Behold him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver. Are you bargaining to sell him again at a higher price?". On Aug. 2, therefore, 300,000 Jews, went forth from the land of their birth, to seek homes wherever they could find them. It was one of the saddest, and most tragic events in all Jewish history.

### II. Suggestions.

1. Grace Aguilar first wrote "The Spirit of Judaism" in 1831. But the manuscript which she sent to Isaac Lesser for revision never reached him. She therefore rewrote the entire book, which was not published until 1842.
2. That she was a popular writer is attested by the fact that "The Vale of Cedars" was translated into Hebrew and German, and some of her novels reached thirty editions in as many years.
3. Disraeli believed a man could do anything, if only he tried hard enough. His own life was the most striking illustration of his philosophy. Yet he was a firm believer in tradition. The past meant much to him. He reveled in it, and when not disturbed

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by affairs of state lived in it. Grace Aguilar too, loved Israel's past. She grieved that her coreligionists did not have a better acquaintance with it. She did what she could to develop that acquaintance. She pleaded with her people to study their faith and their Bible. She even urged them to learn Hebrew. Still she was not a traditionalist. Indeed she often claimed that tradition shackled the Jewish mind, a position which Lesser, who edited both "The Spirit of Judaism" and "The Jewish Faith", found it necessary to combat. From the beginning she seems to have been interested in the Reform movement in Judaism. "There is (and we hail it with grateful rejoicing as the rising sun for another generation) one Synagogue in the metropolis, where every Sabbath there are sermons in the vernacular idiom, tending to remove doubt, answer enquiry, satisfy feeling, and confirm belief. - - - There is hope, more hope for the regeneration of spiritual Israel, than there has been for many centuries. Men are thinking and enquiring, and separating in their holy religion, the chaff from the wheat". The first reform congregation was organized in London 1841.

4. While he lived, Moses Montefiore was one of the most prominent and favored Jews in England. Queen Victoria was particularly kind to him. Loving his faith, he made seven visits to Palestine, the last when he was 91 years of age. Just as he was honored when he returned from his successful trip in the interests of the Jews of Damascus, so when he reached his hundredth year, congratulations poured in on him from all parts of the world.
5. The Damascus Affair is said to have been one of the events that led to the formation of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, in 1860.
6. Portuguese Jewess that she was, Grace Aguilar yet condemned the Portuguese and Spanish Jews of England for looking down upon their German coreligionists. "The indomitable pride", she says, "the haughty air of superiority, which (not fifty years since) characterized the Spanish and Portuguese Jew, were of Spain and Portugal, not of Judea.—The distinction between them (the German Jews) and their (so-called) Spanish and Portuguese brethren, originates not at all in Judaism, whose beautiful unity ought to banish all such conventional terms, but simply in the distinction which exists between the charac-

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teristics of the different countries in which they dwelt.—Therefore when the two parties met on equal ground, the free and blessed soil of England, the haughty pride of the Spaniard (not of the Jew, for that would have counseled differently) caused that exclusiveness even from his German brother, which formerly had existence, but which happily now is fading rapidly into the past’.

7. Tho they were really Jews, and Jews were hated, and persecuted, many Maranos nevertheless held prominent offices in Spain. Luis Sanchez was president of the highest tribunal of Aragon; Gabriel Sanchez was chief treasurer; Alfonso Sanchez, deputy treasurer; Guillen Sanchez, cup-bearer and later royal treasurer; Francisco Gurrea, governor; Miquel de Almazan, private secretary to the king, and Don Gaon, Joseph and Moses Cales, Samuel Pachon, Joseph ibn Ataf, Moses of Briviesca, Jacob ibn Nunez and Abraham Joseph Castellano were all tax collectors. John II and Henry IV also had Jewish physicians. The royal house frequently borrowed from the Santangels who were particularly prominent. Kayserling calls Luis de Santangel “the Beaconsfield of Spain”.
8. “Morales”, says Grace Aguilar, “was ever at the service of either Isabella or her betrothed; he it was from whom the necessary means for her private nuptials were borrowed.” Ferdinand’s mother was a grand-daughter of a beautiful Jewess of Toledo named Paloma. Hoping that this partial Jewish descent would incline him to favor his Jewish subjects, Maranos liberally assisted Ferdinand. Abraham Senior of Segovia arranged Ferdinand’s first meeting with Isabella. Moreover it was Yayne Ram, son of a Rabbi who loaned Ferdinand, who was practically penniless, 20,000 sueldos to make the trip. Pedro de la Caballeria paid the largest part of 40,000 ducats for the bridal gift. Many of the closest friends of both Ferdinand and Isabella were Maranos. Isabella’s confidential advisers, and even her confessor, were of Jewish descent. Don Isaac Abravanel enjoyed royal favor, tho he lived openly as a Jew.
9. A special court for the examination and punishment of heretics and infidels existed as early as the era of Theodosius and Justinian. It was not known as the Inquisition until introduced into France in the 13th century. The Church urged the es-

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establishment of the institution in Spain about the middle of the 15th century. The consent of the Pope was secured in 1478. Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-General 1483. In the eighteen years during which he was at the head of the iniquitous system, it is said that 97,000 victims underwent various degrees of torture and 10,000 were burned at the stake. From Jan.-Nov. 1481, 2000 were burned in the province of Cadiz alone, and 400 in the city of Seville.

10. In "The Vale of Cedars" Ferdinand and Isabella are pictured as being zealously religious, but also kind and merciful. Isabella especially is described as viewing with horror the cruelties practiced by the Inquisition. It is true that the Queen yielded to the introduction of the institution only after much urging, and that her only desire was to save the souls of the unbelieving Jews. But of Ferdinand little that is good can be said. The confiscation of the possessions of the heretics of his kingdom would fill his coffers. Beyond that he had neither thought nor care. He was actuated toward the Jews, and the Inquisition, not by religious zeal, but by material greed.
11. Father Ambrose is a Marano. Maranos often occupied not only political but ecclesiastical offices.
12. Columbus came to Spain 1485, but was given scanty attention. In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella at last gave him a hearing, but his demands were so extravagant, that none were granted. In despair he left Granada intending to go to France. Thereupon Luis de Santangel persuaded the Queen to look with favor on the expedition of the dreamer, and advanced out of his own pocket the necessary sum, 17,000 florins. Columbus was ordered to equip his fleet April 30, the day the decree expelling the Jews from the country was publicly announced. He sailed Aug. 3, the day after the edict went into effect. The expenses of his second expedition were met by the sale of the confiscated property of the Jews. Thus, notwithstanding current tradition, not "jewels but Jews" were responsible for the discovery of America.
13. Jews were not allowed to return to Spain until 1858. Few however thus far have availed themselves of the privilege. A small congregation exists in Madrid, but it worships in private quarters, since the erection of a synagogue is forbidden.
14. The Mohammedans who remained in the East were called Sar-

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acens; those who crossed from Morocco into Spain, Moors. These Moors were not only religious and brave, but well educated, and in general extremely liberal in their attitude toward the Jews. Under them the Jews of Spain achieved the zenith of their prosperity.

15. Ibn Gabirol, Ibn Ezra, Benjāmin of Tudela, Samuel Halevi, Jehuda Halevi, Kimhi, Al Harisi, Samuel Abulafia, Joseph Albo, all were Spanish Jews.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What progress did the cause of Jewish political emancipation make in England from 1837-1850?
2. Narrate the main facts in the life of Moses Montefiore.
3. What was the Damascus Affair?
4. Tell briefly the story of Grace Aguilar's life.
5. Why did she write on religious and Jewish subjects?
6. What do you know of the history of the Reform movement in Judaism? Compare Orthodoxy, Conservatism, Reform and Radicalism.
7. What suggested Grace Aguilar's interest in Spain?
8. Give a brief outline of the history of the Jews in Spain.
9. What was the Inquisition? How did Ferdinand and Isabella view it and why?
10. What is the derivation of the word "Marano"? Of "Hep, hep"?
11. Is forced conversion ever justifiable?
12. Name some prominent Maranos and Jews of Spain.
13. Why were the Moors kind and the Catholics cruel to their Jewish subjects?
14. What part did the Jews play in the expeditions of Columbus?
15. Compare the former attitude of the Portuguese toward the German Jews, with the present attitude of the German Jews toward their coreligionists from Russia.
16. Spain has declined in strength and influence ever since the expulsion of the Jews. Is there any connection between these two facts?
17. How does the so-called "third degree" applied by police to suspected criminals, compare with the Spanish Inquisition? Has it any justification?



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### LESSON IX.

#### I. Required Reading.

"Daniel Deronda". George Elliot. (1808-1880).

Replying in 1877 to the critics of "Daniel Deronda" Joseph Jacobs remarked that "There yet remains a deep unconscious undercurrent of prejudice against the Jew, which conscientious Englishmen have often to fight against". Yet by that time every public office in England was open to the Jew. He could enter even Parliament. Indeed he was already represented there. Of course the victory was not achieved without a struggle. We have seen that when "The Vale of Cedars" was published, Baron Lionel de Rothschild, tho elected to Parliament was not admitted because he would not take the prescribed oath. The climax came in 1851 when David Salomons, also elected, declined resolutely to repeat the oath of abjuration, but insisted on taking his seat. Nothing daunted by an order to withdraw, he not only remained, but even went so far as to vote on an order to adjourn. The matter was at once referred to the courts which decided against him and fined him £500 for each vote he had cast while on the floor. In 1857 Salomons was elected lord mayor of London. In 1858 the House of Commons expressed its willingness to admit Jews without compelling them to use the objectionable words, but the Lords would not yield. Later the same year a compromise was arranged, whereby Jews could be admitted to both houses on resolution to that effect as occasion required. In accordance with this agreement Baron Lionel de Rothschild, took his seat July 26, 1858, using the words "so help me Jehovah" instead of the usual form "on the true faith of a Christian". In 1860 this arrangement was crystallized into a regular custom, altho it was not until 1866 that the Parliamentary Oaths Amendment Act was

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passed eliminating altogether the words that had been the subject of so much controversy.

As "Daniel Deronda" was not written until 1876, it is plain that it contributed in no way to the political emancipation of the Jews in England. If anything it was rather an effect than a cause. For during her early years George Eliot did not entertain the profoundest respect for Jews and Judaism. As late as 1848 she wrote to J. Sibree: "The fellowship of race to which Disraeli so exultingly refers the munificence of Sidonia, is so evidently an inferior impulse, which must ultimately be superseded, that I wonder even he, Jew as he is, dares to boast of it. My Gentile nature kicks most resolutely against any assumption of superiority in the Jews, and is almost ready to echo Voltaire's vituperation. I bow to the supremacy of Hebrew poetry, but much of their early mythology and almost all their history is utterly revolting. Their stock has produced a Moses and a Jesus; but Moses was impregnated with Egyptian philosophy, and Jesus is venerated and adored by us only for that wherein He transcended or resisted Judaism. The very exaltation of their idea of a national deity into a spiritual monotheism seems to have been borrowed from the other Oriental tribes. Everything specifically Jewish is of a low grade".

That with the passing of the years George Eliot changed her views we have abundant proof in the book under consideration. No finer tribute to the Jew and his faith has issued from a Christian pen. What could have been responsible for the development? George Eliot was no child in 1848. Yet twenty-eight years elapsed before she wrote "Daniel Deronda", and being a woman of intelligence, her ideas had to undergo transformation in that length of time. "Consistency consists of inconsistency". Besides in more than a quarter of a century she must have met many Jews, and since "knowledge is saving", and ignorance has so much to do with prejudice, this contact must have taught her much about the Jews she had not known before. Moreover she had in the meantime read much and carefully of Jewish history and life and literature. In 1842 she was introduced to a Baptist minister who discussed religion with her. "That young lady", he said after the interview, "must have had the devil at her elbow to suggest her doubts, for there was not a book that I recommended to her in support of Christian evidences that she had not read". Obviously George Eliot could not have produced "Daniel Deronda" if she had not devoted years to developing an intimate ac-

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quaintance with Jewish thought. "She has acquired", said Joseph Jacobs in the article referred to in the opening sentence of this lesson, "an extended and profound knowledge of the rites, aspirations, hopes, fears and desires of the Israelites of the day. She has read their books, inquired into their modes of thought, searched their traditions, accompanied them to the synagog; nay she has taken the very words from their lips, and like Asmodeus, has unroofed their houses". Finally the very progress the Jew was making in her own day, must have convinced her that in her early impression of him she had done him a rank injustice. For while the Jew lingers in the background, and is enveloped in obscurity, it is possible to attribute to him honestly the most villainous of characteristics. But when he comes into the open, and plays a prominent part in public activities, all save those who do not care for the truth must discover that he is not nearly as black as he has been painted. That is why the ghetto tended to foster and perpetuate prejudice.

At any rate a change had come over George Eliot's impression of the Jew since the day when she declared everything specifically Jewish of a low order. And there is not the slightest doubt that this change was in part responsible for the cold welcome "Daniel Deronda" received when it first appeared. Indeed it may have been wholly responsible. Christian critics were almost a unit in pronouncing the Jewish part of the book monotonously uninteresting. Did the fact that Deronda passes so easily from the faith in which he had been bred to the religion of his birth have anything to do with this judgment? Would not the average Jew for the same reason be apt to view with unfavorable eye a book like Florence Kingsley's "The Cross Triumphant"? Or was it simply that the critics were little better than those for whom they wrote, and shared their prejudices? Curiously enough however, the Jewish critics almost without exception took the same position. What was the contributing cause here, the belief that the Jew would find safety only in retirement and obscurity and not in public discussion of Jewish problems, or the dread that the identification of the Jew with the hope of the restoration of Jewish national life, would reflect on his patriotism?

"The ignorance", wrote George Eliot in 1876, "the recklessness, the lack of any critical principles, by which to distinguish what is matter of technical judgment and what of individual taste, the ridiculous absence of fundamental comparison, - - - tired of all this, I

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sometimes shrink from every article that pretends to be critical,—I mean of other people's productions not of course my own, for you know I am well taken care of by my husband, and am saved from getting my mind poisoned with print about myself". But even this precaution did not prevent her learning of the unfavorable reception that greeted "Daniel Deronda". "I wrote about the Jews", she said to a young Jewish friend in whose career she was deeply interested, "because I consider them a fine old race, who have done great things for humanity". Yet as she stated in her "Journal" April 12, 1876, "The Jewish element seems likely to satisfy nobody". "A Christian", she wrote to Madame Bodichon, October 2nd, the same year, "A Christian thanks me for embodying the principles by which Christ wrought and will conquer. This is better than the laudation of readers who cut the book up into scraps and talk of nothing in it but Gwendolen. I meant everything in the book to be related to everything else there". Here is an entry she recorded in her "Journal" December 1. "Since September, I have been made aware of much repugnance or else indifference toward the Jewish part of Deronda". That this attitude must have distressed her we can gather from a letter written to Prof. Kaufman, of Buda Pesth, May 31, 1877, in acknowledgement of an extremely complimentary review of the book, he had written but a short while before. "George Eliot", he had said among other things, "has penetrated into the history and literature of the Jews affectionately and thoroughly; and her knowledge in a field where ignorance is still venial, if not expressly authorized, has astonished even experts. . . . It is by the piety and tenderness with which she treats Jewish customs that the author shows how supreme her culture and refinement are; and the small number of mistakes that can be detected in her descriptions of Jewish life and ritual, may put to blush even writers who belong to that race". George Eliot responded in words of keenest appreciation. "Though the prejudice and ignorant obtuseness", she wrote, "which has met my effort to contribute something to the ennobling of Judaism in the conception of the Jewish community has never for a moment made me repent my choice, but rather has been added proof to me that the effort has been needed, yet I confess that I had an unsatisfied hunger for certain signs of sympathetic discernment which you only have given".

Still it cannot be said that the storm of criticism "Daniel Deronda" evoked was altogether a surprise to its author. She knew that

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the Jew of her day and land was neither understood nor liked and she must therefore have known that her tribute to his worth and her plea for a public recognition of it would not awaken enthusiasm. But it was this very knowledge that made her write as she did. "As to the Jewish element in *Deronda*", she wrote to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Oct. 29, 1876, "I expected from first to last in writing it, that it would create much stronger resistance, and even repulsion than it has actually met with. But precisely because I felt that the usual attitude of Christians toward Jews is—I hardly know whether to say more impious or more stupid when viewed in the light of their professed principles, I therefore felt urged to treat Jews with such sympathy and understanding as my nature and knowledge could attain to. . . . There is nothing I should more care to do, if it were possible, than to arouse the imagination of men and women to a vision of human claims in those races of their fellowmen, who most differ from them in customs and beliefs. But toward the Hebrews we western people who have been reared in Christianity, have a peculiar debt, and whether we acknowledge it or not, a peculiar thoroughness of fellowship in religious and moral sentiment. Can anything be more disgusting than to hear people called educated making small jokes about eating ham, and showing themselves empty of any real knowledge as to the relation of their own social and religious life, to the history of the people they think themselves witty in insulting? . . . To my feeling, this deadness to the history which has prepared half our world for us, this inability to find interest in any form of life that is not clad in the same coat-tails and flounces as our own, lies very close to the worst kind of irreligion. The best that can be said of it is, that it is a sign of the intellectual narrowness, in plain English, the stupidity which is still the average mark of our culture. . . . I sum up with the writer of the Book of Maccabees: "If I have done well and as befits the subject, it is what I desired, and if I have done ill it is what I could attain to".

"*Daniel Deronda*" really consists of two parts, the one centering in Gwendolen Harleth, the other in Mordecai, *Deronda* himself being the connecting link. Whatever the purpose of the book, and spite of its title, the strongest, and most important character it presents is unquestionably Mordecai. And the hope, the yearning, the dream of this seer is the political regeneration of his people on the soil of Palestine. Of course, in this philosophy, Mordecai is simply

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the mouthpiece of the author. George Eliot is a firm believer in spiritual heredity. "What", she exclaims in the "Spanish Gypsy"

"Shall the trick of nostrils and of lips  
Descend through generations, and the soul,  
That moves within our frame like God in worlds,  
Convulsing, urging, melting, withering,  
Imprint no record, leave no documents,  
Of her great history"?

George Eliot disliked Disraeli, but she shared his profound admiration of the Jewish past, and his appreciation of the importance and influence of tradition. "We had not walked", says Sephardo, again in the "Spanish Gypsy"

"We had not walked but for tradition; we walk evermore  
To higher paths, by brightening reason's lamp".

George Eliot believes that "our finest hope is finest memory", but the memory that achieves most and makes for the most admirable character is that which associates itself with national ideas and ideals. "The eminence, the nobleness of a people", she argues in "Theophrastus Such", "depends on its capability of being stirred by memories". And again, "Not only the nobleness of a nation depends on the presence of this national consciousness but also the nobleness of each individual citizen". And still again, "The preservation of national memories is an element and a means of national greatness. The pride which identifies us with a great historic body is a humanizing, elevation habit of mind, inspiring sacrifices of individual comfort, gain or other selfish ambition, for the sake of that ideal whole; and no man swayed by such a sentiment can become completely abject".

It is not difficult to trace George Eliot's application of these convictions to the Jew. The Jew is the product of history and tradition. The past has made him what he is, and since as someone has said "the dwarf on the dead giant's shoulders sees more, than the live giant's eyesight availed to explore", the brightest promise for the Jew lies in loyalty to his inheritance. But the past of the Jew was largely national. Tho deprived of a political home for centuries, the Jew has retained his national characteristics and feelings.

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And these he should not attempt for any reason to eliminate. Quite to the contrary, he should continue to emphasize them, until the day dawns when he will be able to have a land of his own. "A common humanity is not yet enough to feed the rich blood of various activity which makes a complete man. The time is not come for cosmopolitanism to be highly virtuous, any more than for communism to suffice for social energy". Moreover since national memories enhance the value of character, the extinction of a single nationality is an irreparable loss to civilization. And therefore instead of condemning Jews because they are so different from others, the Christians of the world ought to be content to have these differences accentuated and should help the Jews to secure a political home of their own, in which these traditional traits should find their fullest and freest expression.

"If Dickens", wrote George Eliot in her essay on "The Natural History of German Life", "could give us their psychological character" (she is speaking of the people who live in cities) "their conception of life and their emotions, with the same truth as their idiom and their manners, his books would be the greatest contribution art has ever made to the awakening of social sympathies". But where Dickens was weak, she was especially strong. He was more imaginative, but he lacked her power of psychological analysis. Scott projected himself more ably into the distant past. But he did not approximate her ability to analyze, and interpret character. When others wrote of the Jew, either they let imagination run riot, or they drew hasty conclusions from conditions that lay upon the surface. But George Eliot was unwilling to write of the Jew for publication, until she had delved into the depths, saturated herself with his spirit, and in emotion and thought become one with him. That is why Mordecai, peculiar as many may think him, is one of the noblest figures that has appeared in English fiction, and why all the Jewish characters that are described in "Daniel Deronda" are truer to life than any others which English literature had produced up to their time.

### II. Suggestions.

1. In view of the fact that no Jew was permitted to enter Parliament until 1858, it is interesting to note that in the last election (1910) fourteen Jews were elected to that historic body.



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2. Altho the parliamentary Oaths Amendment Act was passed in 1866, until 1909, oaths administered to Jewish witnesses, contained the word "Jehovah", while for Christians, the word employed was "God". The difference however was done away with by the last Parliament which passed a new Oaths Act, providing the same formula for both Jews and Christians. The oath now reads: "I swear by Almighty God, that the evidence I am about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth".
3. When Baron Lionel de Rothschild was finally allowed to take his seat in Parliament, he kept his hat on while repeating the oath.
4. England freed its slaves in 1833, appropriating £20,000,000 for this purpose. But the Jews were not emancipated until 1866.
5. The Mortara case occurred in 1858. All Europe protested against the outrage, in fact all civilization, but the protest was vain. Moses Montefiore went all the way to Rome to plead with the Pope, but was denied an audience. Mortara visited America a few years ago and spoke in New York City.
6. Disraeli entered Parliament 1837. George Eliot disliked him intensely. Possibly this explains her early prejudice against the Jews. In this connection it is worth remembering that in "Theophrastus Such" condemning such prejudice unsparingly she remarks that "the value of the Hebrew race has been measured by most people by their unfavorable opinion of a prime minister who is a Jew by lineage".
7. In "Daniel Deronda", George Eliot emphasizes her conviction that blood tells, that heredity is mightier than environment, that the essence of religion is loyalty to high ideals, and that membership in a historic organization thru identification with the traditional feelings and ideas that have given that organization birth and meaning is vastly more profitable morally to the individual and also to society at large, than the selfishness that refuses to relate itself to others and knows no law but its own sweet will.
8. In the Fortnightly Review of April 1866, G. H. Lewes described an organization similar to the "Hand and Banner Club" and a Jew, named Ezra Cohen who, as Joseph Jacobs first suggested, was probably the original of Mordecai. In private conversation however, Lewes claimed that "no such resemblance ex-

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- isted, Cohen being a keen dialectician and a highly impressive man, but without any specifically Jewish enthusiasm". Mordecai yearned for the political rebirth of his people; Cohen was but an ardent worshipper of Spinoza.
9. Emma Lazarus (Century II, 50) ventured the suggestion that the original of Mordecai was Emanuel Deutsch (1829-1873), "~~who laid down his life for the regeneration of our views of Israel's past, as Mordecai sacrificed his for the elevation of our hopes of Israel's future~~". (See "Jewish Ideals", 70).
  10. To explain George Elliot's intimate acquaintance with Jewish life and thought, the explanation has been advanced that Mr. Lewes was a Jew. The suggestion that one of her personal friends was a Jew enthusiastically interested in Zionism has also been put forward.
  11. Latimer (England in the 19th Century, 348 and note) claims that the character of Deronda's mother, was patterned after Disraeli's grandmother, who, tho proud of herself, was ashamed of her faith.
  12. In a letter to John Blackwood April 18, 1876, George Eliot wrote: "The printers have sadly spoiled the beautiful Greek name Kalonymos, which was the name of a celebrated family of scholarly Jews, transplanted from Italy into Germany in mediaeval times".
  13. The character of Mordecai has been variously estimated. "Curiously unreal, shadowy, puppet-like, lifeless". Mrs. Linton. "A probable character portrayed with realistic touch". Cooke. "Deronda and Mordecai are probably the two most unsuccessful of George Elliot's vast gallery of characters". Blind. "Carved of the wood from which prophets are made, he is one of the most difficult, as well as one of the most successful essays in psychological analysis, ever attempted by an author". David Kaufman. "Not only the finest representative of the Jewish religion and race in all literature, but also the most impressive personality in English fiction". Joseph Jacobs. The contrast is interesting. A Jew can best understand a Jew.
  14. The critics also differ in their estimates of Deronda. Whipple calls him "one of the noblest and most original characters among the heroes imagined by poets, dramatists and novelists". Leslie Stephen is not so complimentary. "Deronda", says he,

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"is an amiable monomaniac, and occasionally a very prosy moralist".

15. George Eliot pleads for the preservation of national traits. Yet "the tendency of things", she admits, "is toward quicker or slower fusion of races. It is impossible to arrest this tendency" (Theophrastus Such). And again in her letter to J. Sibree 1848: "The negroes certainly puzzle me. All the other races seem plainly destined to extermination, not excepting even the Hebrew Caucasian". Does George Eliot bewail this fusion, or does she draw a distinction between a race and a nation? Moreover, if the influence of race or memory or tradition is all powerful, what part does the personal equation play in the development of life? Disraeli said that the individual could do anything. Shakespeare argued:

"To thine own self be true,  
And it must follow as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man".

George Eliot would seem to suggest that it is tradition that makes the man. Which point of view is correct? And how about environment and association?

16. Note the stately dignity of Mordecai's language. He speaks like a prophet who has stepped from the pages of the Bible.
17. "It was a Utopian dream", says John Lord (Beacon Lights, VII 382f) "that sent Daniel Deronda to the Orient to collect together the scattered members of his race. Nor are enthusiasts and proselytes often found among the Jews. We see talent but not visionary dreamers. To the English they appear as peculiarly practical—bent on making money, sensual in their pleasures, and only distinguished from the people around them by an extravagant love of jewelry, and a proud and cynical rationalism". But what of the prophets of Israel and the "Dreamers of the Ghetto"? What of Spinoza, Jehuda Halevi, Ibn Gebirol, Mendelssohn, Heine, Karl Marx, Lasalle, Disraeli and Herzl?
18. As Mordecai urges the restoration of Jewish political independence, so in "The Spanish Gypsy" Zarca dreams of the establishment of a nation of gypsies in Africa.
19. Klesmer is a musician. So is Mirah. For more than a century

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the Jews have played a prominent part in the development of music.

20. Ezra Cohen loves his mother. Mordecai and Mirah retain the tenderest recollections of their home. All reverence Mordecai. Are these not Jewish characteristics?
21. In presenting such different types of Jewish character, Mordecai, Mirah, Klesmer, Ezra Cohen, Kalonymos, Gideon, Lapidoth, Rom, and Pash, George Eliot makes it clear that all Jews are not alike. There are Jews and Jews.
22. Mrs. John Cash Coventry who knew George Eliot well says, "I received along with lessons in German, some rules and lessons for life from Miss Evans. One of the first was an injunction to be accurate. . . . . The other was tolerance". George Eliot achieved both virtues. In a letter to Mrs. Ponsonby, October 17, 1877, she wrote: "Pity and fairness, two little words which carried out would embrace the utmost delicacies of the moral life, seem to me not to rest on an unverifiable hypothesis, but on facts quite as irreversible as the perception, that a pyramid will not stand on its apex".
23. George Eliot commends loyalty to tradition, yet she herself was as daring as she was unconventional. And her religious ideas were of the most advanced character. If she had a creed it would be difficult to define it. Spite of her denial of the fundamental tenets of the faith of her day, despite even the radical step which gained her so much unenviable notoriety, her literary work unquestionably exerted a strong moral influence. "We can find more religion in George Eliot's words than she herself dreamed she was putting there". (Lanier, "The English Novel", 218).

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What was the position of the Jew in England when "Daniel Deronda" was published?
2. Why did Baron Lionel de Rothschild wear his hat when taking the oath of office on entering Parliament?
3. What was the Mortara case?
4. What lessons was "Daniel Deronda" intended to teach?
5. What do you know of David Kaufman and Emanuel Deutsch?

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6. How did George Eliot's attitude toward Judaism and the Jews change? How can you account for the change?
7. What was the reasoning that made George Eliot a Zionist? How did her position on the subject differ from that of most Zionists of to-day?
8. Trace briefly the history of modern Zionism.
9. If the preservation of national memories is absolutely essential to greatness, how will you explain the strength of a country like the United States, where citizenship represents the abandonment of old and the adoption of new national ideals?
10. How was "Daniel Deronda" received? Can you offer any explanation of its reception?
11. What do you think of George Eliot's estimate of the Jew?
12. How does Mordecai compare with the Jewish characters that had previously made their appearance in the pages of English fiction?
13. Is Deronda's joy in the discovery of his Jewish birth natural?
14. Is Deronda's mother typical or exceptional?
15. Analyze John Lord's estimate of the modern Jew?
16. Name some prominent Jewish musicians.
17. Why are there so few great Jewish painters and sculptors?
18. "The sons of Zion were only preserved in exile by becoming sons of the Law, inhabitants of the Idea. The alternative still remains. Either a common country or a common Idea" (Zangwill, "Dreamers of the Ghetto", 533). What is the solution of the Jewish problem, nationalization, assimilation or consecration?

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### LESSON X.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Dance to Death". Emma Lazarus. (1849-1887).

With Emma Lazarus, we turn from England to America. In considering "The Vale of Cedars" we saw that Jews made possible the expeditions of Columbus. Besides gaining court favor and material assistance thru them, he used the astronomical works of Abraham ibn Ezra, the astronomical tables of Abraham Zacuto, and the sea quadrant called Jacob's Staff, invented by Levi ben Gerson. Moreover, five men of Jewish extraction accompanied him on his voyage of discovery, Luis de Torres, who acted as interpreter, Rodrigo Sanchez, a relative of Gabriel Sanchez, who joined the expedition at the request of the Queen, Marco the ship surgeon, Bernal the ship doctor and Alfonso de la Calle. Luis de Torres was the first European to touch American soil. The first American country to which Jews came in any numbers, was Brazil. They reached also Peru and Mexico during the 16th century. The first Jew to arrive in the territory now included in the United States of whom we have record was Jacob Barsimon who came to New Amsterdam in 1654. He was followed later in the same year by twenty-three others who hailed from Brazil. These however, Peter Stuyvesant, then governor, refused to admit until ordered to do so by the directors of the Dutch West India Company. In 1664 New Amsterdam was captured by the British and thereafter became known as New York. By 1673 the Jews of this city were holding public services, altho it was not until 1682 that they rented quarters for a synagogue, and not until 1729 that they managed to erect a building of their own. The oath of abjuration was done away with 1727, Daniel Nunez do Costa becoming the first naturalized Jewish citizen in America the same year. By the 17th century there were Jews in Maryland and Pennsylvania, tho they did not reach Massachusetts, Georgia and South Carolina until the 18th century. There exist records of 46 Jews who fought in the Revolutionary War, 44 in the War of 1812, 58 in the Mexican War, 7923 in the Civil War, and 2493 in the Spanish-American war. The first Jews who reached America came from Spain and Portugal. Coreligionists soon followed from Holland. German Jews did not arrive, in numbers at least, until the 18th century. in

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1818 it was estimated that the total Jewish population of the United States was but 3,000; in 1880, 230,000. Russian Jews had come to America as early as 1821, but until 1870 the total number did not exceed 8,000. Economic conditions enlarged this number to 41,057 by 1880. In 1881 there swept over Europe a wave of Anti-Semitism which affected particularly Roumania and Russia. The infamous May Laws were promulgated in 1882. At once Russian Jews began to flock to this country. From 1880 to 1890 the average number that arrived annually was 20,700. By 1888 it was estimated that the Jewish population of the country was 400,000 scattered over every state and territory in the land. Today the number is said to be over 1,500,000, of whom probably 70% reside in the city of New York.

In his essay on "Race and Tradition" Darmesteter quotes with approval the statement of Renan that "there is a psychology of religious minorities, independent of race". Renan found striking illustration of the truth of his claim in the history of the Jews. Here was a people, he argued, that in the passing of the centuries, had lost whatever of racial purity it had once possessed, yet it still lived healthy and strong, a religious brotherhood, whose members were bound to each other not by ties of blood, but by identity of religious beliefs and aims and ideals. There are those who would strenuously dispute the position of Renan. When but a short time ago the government was requested by some prominent Jews to cease classifying their immigrant coreligionists as members of a particular race, protests against the request were received from all parts of the country. It is an interesting question: "Are the Jews a race or simply a religious people, a denomination? Is it birth or conviction that makes the Jew? Or, do both contribute to the result?"

Try to apply the question to the life of Emma Lazarus. Born in 1849 of Jewish parents, for more than thirty years she knew next to nothing of the faith or people of her birth. She realized that she was a Jewess, but she was a stranger to Jewish principles and ideals, and aspirations, yes and sympathies. She never attended synagog and she had little to do with her coreligionists. We catch a glimpse of her Jewish views in the article she contributed to the Century April 1882 on the subject, "Was Beaconsfield a Representative Jew"? Brandes had claimed that "Disraeli cannot be looked upon as the personification of the many-sidedness of the Jewish race—for the Jewish mind has revealed itself in far more fluent and nobler forms



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than in Disraeli's comparatively limited mental range". In reply Emma Lazarus wrote: "Taking Spinoza and Shylock as the opposite poles of the Hebraic character, it is not requisite that the representative Jew, shall be at the same time Spinoza and Shylock. All that is required is that he shall furnish us with an epitome of the race features common to both. - - - Adroitness, dexterity, tact, industry, perseverance, ambition, brilliancy, magnetism, these may be enumerated as the distinguishing qualities (of the Jews.) - - - Thus far their religion, whose mere preservation under such adverse conditions seems little short of a miracle, has been deprived of the natural means of development and progress, and has remained a stationary force. The next hundred years will in our opinion be the test of their vitality as a people; the phase of toleration on which they are only now entering will prove whether or not they are capable of growth. In the meantime the narrowness, the arrogance, the aristocratic pride, the passion for revenge, the restless ambition, the vanity and the love of pomp of Benjamin Disraeli, no less than his suppleness of intellect, his moral courage, his dazzling talents and his triumphant energy proclaim him to our thinking a representative Jew".

It was a curious coincidence that the same magazine number contained a bitter attack upon the Russian Jews by Mme. Ragozin. "The Jews", she said among a great many other vicious criticisms, "are disliked, nay hated in Eastern Europe and Western Russia not because they believe and pray differently, but because they are a parasitical race who, producing nothing, fatten on the produce of land and labor and live on it, choking the breath of life out of commerce and industry as sure as the creeper throttles the tree that upholds it. They are despised not because they are of a different blood, because they dress differently and eat peculiar foods, not even because herding together in unutterable filth and squalor, they are a loathsome and really dangerous element—a standing institution for the propagation of all kinds of horrible diseases and contagions; but because their ways are crooked, their manner abject—because they will not stand up for themselves and manfully resent an insult or oppose vexation, but will take any amount of it, if they can thereby turn a penny, will smirk and cringe and go off with a deadly grudge at heart which they will vent cruelly, ruthlessly but in an underhand manner, and not always on the offender, but on any or all belonging to the defender's race".

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Emma Lazarus read this libellous article. She also read of the indignation meetings held in different parts of the world to protest against Russia's inhuman treatment of its Jewish subjects. She was familiar with the proceedings of the mass meeting called by ex-President Grant in the city of New York Feb. 1, 1882, to denounce the government of the Czar, and to express sympathy for the victims of its cruelty. Possibly she even attended that meeting. She went to Ellis Island and watched the poor refugees arrive. She met them in the ghetto and conversed interestedly with them, and suddenly all the latent Jewish feeling that centuries of Jewish history had stored within her, awoke. Like a flash she realized that she was one with these suffering men, women, and children, and that because she was of them she must do for them. The discovery gave her ability a purpose, an aim, an end it lacked before, and so raised its level, until it ceased to be mere talent and became genius. Previously she had been able, now she was inspired. Previously she had written of general subjects, now she wrote always of her faith and her people. She became the champion of Israel, weeping over its sorrows, denouncing its enemies, giving new life to its hopes, singing of its trials and triumphs, its past and future. It was as tho she were trying to make recompense for the earlier days when Judaism was to her but a relic of bygone days and the Jew but a survival of antiquity. Under the spell of this new born spirit she wrote "Russian Christianity vs. Modern Judaism" (Century May 1882), "The New Year", "The Crowing of the Red Cock", "In Exile", "The Banner of the Jew", "The Guardian of the Red Disk", "The New Ezekiel", "The Choice", "The World's Justice", "The Supreme Sacrifice", "The Feast of Lights", "Gifts", "Bar Kochba", "1492", "The Birth of Man", "Raschi in Prague", "The Death of Raschi", "An Epistle", "By the Waters of Babylon", "To Carmen Sylva", "Translations from Hebrew Poets", the "Translation and Two Imitations" of a poem of Heine's, and "The Dance to Death".

The scene of "The Dance to Death" is Nordhausen, and the time 1349. Nordhausen is a city in Prussia where Jews resided as early as the 13th century. When the Black Death occurred, Margrave Frederick of Meissen wrote the city council of Nordhausen that he had sent the Jews on his estates to the stake and that they might do likewise. How far Nordhausen availed itself of the privilege is not known. It is certain however that many of its Jewish inhabitants were put to death, their possessions being confiscated by the

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city. In 1350 King Chas. IV. transferred all the property of the Jews of the city to Count Henry of Honstein, at the same time quashing the legal proceedings that had been instituted against Nordhausen because of the Jewish massacre.

In "The Dance to Death", Emma Lazarus invented incident and character to give her story artistic completion, yet the tale is not merely the product of a vivid imagination, it is in the main historically accurate. Even where the author invented, she did not exaggerate. The Jews of the Middle Ages did suffer as she describes. And the Black Death was a reality for which the Jews were held responsible, and brutally tortured and slaughtered. In most cases the punishment inflicted was burning at the stake. Pope Clement VI. declared the Jews innocent of the crimes charged against them. Other champions rose to defend them, but this help did not stay the arm of persecution. Flagellants and Pastoureaux marched from city to city counselling defiance to the Pope and massacre of the Jews. And at last Nordhausen joined the procession. Like Frederick, Rabbi Jacob was a historic character. An old Jewish record describes in detail, even, the preparations made by the Jewish community to meet the death that had been decreed for them; how led by the old Rabbi and his son, they marched to the place of execution singing psalms, to the strengthening of their own courage and the astonishment of the assembled mob. The documents bearing on this never-to-be forgotten event in the history of Nordhausen were gathered by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, and first employed for dramatic purposes by Richard Reinhard, a German author, in "Der Tanz Zum Tode".

### II. Suggestions.

1. The last of the civil disabilities of the English Jews was not removed until 1866. The Jews came to America with Columbus, and reached the territory now known as the United States as early as the middle of the 17th century. They fought in the Revolutionary War and so contributed to the success of the struggle for independence, but they did not enjoy full political recognition in all parts of the country until about 1825.
2. Last year more than a million immigrants entered this country. Russia sent most, the majority of these being Jews. Religious and economic reasons are both responsible for the heavy

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Russian exodus. Every time a pogrom occurs or new anti-Jewish legislation is introduced in Russia, the immigration from that country immediately increases. Coming here a penniless stranger, the Russian Jew has made splendid progress and deserves unconditional credit for the success he has achieved in the face of trying difficulties. He is now to be found in all parts of the country, but considering the congested character of the ghetto of New York city, it is extremely unfortunate that he shows such a preference for it, altho the preference can easily be explained. As it is, the Jewish community there is hardly able to care for its poor, while the West offers the new immigrant much better industrial opportunities. The conditions of the ghetto, due to its congestion, have been advanced as an argument for the further restriction of immigration. Time was when the German Jew was very much prejudiced against his Russian brother, and something of the feeling still lingers. But it is not as keen nor as wide-spread as it used to be.

3. In 1885 Baron de Hirsch offered the Russian government 50,000,000 francs for the education of its Jewish subjects. The government refused to accept the offer unless it was given full control of the fund. To this the Baron would not agree. Instead, he became interested in the plan of colonizing the Russian Jews in foreign lands.
4. Emma Lazarus was the greatest Jewish poet America has produced. All her poems are of more than average ability. But she appears to best advantage in the lines that breathe passionate devotion to the cause of Israel, and a spirited enthusiasm in its defense. The "Dance to Death" was her noblest and most successful achievement.
5. In 1876, Emerson, reading the manuscript of "The Spagnoletto", pronounced it good. Playfully Emma Lazarus asked him if he could not find a bigger word. He replied that he could think of none, but he added that while he had not expected to be interested in the reading, he had found the story so fascinating that he had been unable to put it down until he had read it thru, that it contained splendid dramatic possibilities, and that it was rich with poetic beauty. "The Dance to Death" was written five years later, and is much more mature, and decidedly stronger than "The Spagnoletto". And the su-

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- periority was the product not merely of years, but also of circumstance. "The Dance to Death" was written while the Russian exodus was on.
6. "The Dance to Death" is a description of Jewish suffering in the 14th century. But the tale was suggested by Jewish sorrow in the 19th century.
  7. "This play", wrote the author, "is dedicated in profound veneration and respect, to the memory of George Eliot, the illustrious writer, who did most among the artists of our day towards elevating and ennobling the spirit of Jewish nationality". "Daniel Deronda" made Emma Lazarus a Zionist.
  8. "The Dance to Death" is not only historically accurate, it is well constructed dramatically. Its Jewish content might militate against its popularity on the stage, but many poorer tragedies have scored unconditioned success. The opening lines at once rouse the interest of the reader. The development is, perhaps, not difficult to anticipate, yet the succession of scenes is such as to keep the attention riveted, while the whole story proceeds by legitimate and well adjusted steps to the final curtain. There are dramatists with little poetic genius. There are poets with little grasp of dramatic necessities. Emma Lazarus possessed unusual power in both directions.
  9. The Black Death began in 1348 and lasted until 1351. It is said to have carried off half the population of Europe. In the Middle Ages it was popularly supposed that plagues were due to poisoning. When the Black Death appeared, the Jews, due to the prejudices of the time, were at once held responsible for it, and charged with having poisoned the public wells. The fact that tho the sanitary laws of their faith stood them in good stead, they were by no means immune, but in many places suffered as much from the ravages of the plague as did the Christians, and the further fact that they had to drink from the selfsame wells they were accused of poisoning, did not save them from vicious attacks at the hands of their hysterical enemies. The Jewish Encyclopedia lists the names of over 350 cities and villages where, due to the unjust charge, thousands of innocent Jews were put to death.
  10. Moslems have often been accused of being superstitious and fanatical, yet they never thought of holding the Jews responsible for the Black Death.

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11. Perhaps the name of the prior Peppercorn, was suggested by the character of Joseph Pfefferkorn, the miserable apostate of the early 16th century.
12. In Act IV scene I, Diether von Werther, speaks in defense of the Jews. In those dire days Christian champions of the Jews were not wanting.
13. If it be true that a broken heart is the stepping stone to the highest art, then the suffering Emma Lazarus witnessed in 1881 and 1882, provided the experience without which she would not have become a great poet.
14. But suffering sometimes only serves to paralyze the faculties. To contribute to great achievement it must develop a spirited passion, fashioned of sympathy, and enthusiasm, and indignation and consecration and unselfishness. Emma Lazarus did not awaken to that passion until her latter years, but the discovery came in time to gain her a niche in the hall of fame.
15. Critics have called attention to the noticeable lack of humor in "Daniel Deronda". Emma Lazarus saw only the tragedy of the Jew. To her, all of Jewish history seemed tragic. Now and then she catches a glimpse of the brighter side of Jewish life, as for example in her poem, "In Exile", but in general she misses the sunshine, and finds only the clouds. The same thing is true of Grace Aguilar. Yet if, as a great Rabbi said "the tears which are shed when a good man dies, God gathers and keeps among His most precious treasures", then how are we to view what Zunz called a "National Tragedy lasting fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and actors were also the heroes"?

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What did the Jews have to do with the discovery of America?
2. Tell briefly the story of the Jew in America.
3. What do you know of the Jews in Russia? Why has Russian immigration to this country increased so rapidly during the past few years?
4. Do we need any further restriction of immigration?
5. How does the Jewish immigrant compare with the non-Jewish?
6. What can you say about the Russian Jew in America?

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7. Is there any prejudice against the Jew in America? Does he in any way suffer here because he is a Jew?
8. Give the main facts in the life of Emma Lazarus.
9. What can you say of her relation to her faith and people?
10. Name some of her Jewish writings.
11. Did she in any way help the cause of the Jew?
12. To what extent is "The Dance to Death" historical?
13. Present a birds-eye view of the Jews of Nordhausen.
14. What was the Black Death? How did it affect the Jews? Why were they held responsible for it?
15. Name some Christian champions of the Jews during the 14th century.
16. Who was Joseph Pfefferkorn?
17. Does persecution kill faith or strengthen it?
18. What is the difference between reputation and character?

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### LESSON XI.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Rebel Queen". Walter Besant. (1836-1901).

With "The Rebel Queen" we return to Europe. Emma Lazarus was born in America and described the Jewish life of Prussia in the Middle Ages. Walter Besant first saw the light of day in England, and wrote of the Jews of his own land and time. Religion teaches men to be tolerant and kind and just and loving. Yet, curiously enough, oftentimes the more loyal men are to the faith of their fathers, the more keen is their prejudice toward the Jew. Walter Besant studied for the ministry but counted the day that found him free to renounce it, one of the happiest of his life. He disliked formal religion and was bitter in his denunciation of the Church. "The more I consider the question", he wrote in closing his autobiography, (and his days were then numbered), "the more I understand that the whole of the ecclesiastical system, with the pretensions of the clergy, the mock mystery of their ritual, the supernatural nonsense of their claims, their schemes for the domination of the human intellect, their ecclesiastical trappings, mouthings, mummurings, confessings, incense, consecration, rites, and all the rest of it, are foolish, baseless, and to the highest degree mischievous". And earlier in the same volume: "A man who has had six years of life in a colony such as Mauritius—may become anything you please, but if he takes to literature, he can never become a prig; nor if he takes to politics can he ever become the advocate of a ruling caste; nor can he pursue the old narrow views of ecclesiastical religion. He becomes more human; he has learned at least the lesson that in humanity there is no caste that is common, and none that is unclean. The unclean and the common are individual and not general". Of course there are free thinkers who are as dogmatic as the most bigoted of church members, and there are men of liberal religious thought who except the Jew from the application of their philosophy. But Besant did not believe in pronouncing upon a matter until he had investigated it carefully. "I have observed", he says, "that a great number of Americans come to this country every year; that they stay a short time in London; that they travel about England to a certain extent, seeing cathedrals, castles, churches, and

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historic places; that they bring with them no letters of introduction; that they never enter an English house or make a friend of an English man or woman; that they see everything from the outside only; and that they go away with all their prejudice and ignorance as strong as ever. For you see you cannot master the history, or understand the present condition of the Church of England by standing in a village churchyard or by looking through a cathedral". Profiting by this truth, Besant did not attempt to write about the Jews until he had met and mingled with them. A Herculean task which he began late in life but succeeded in completing before his death, was the production of a history of London. The investigation necessary thereto naturally led him to form an acquaintance with the part Jews had played in the development of the city. Besant, too, was interested for years in the submerged tenth of London, and labored with might and main to improve their condition. This interest was born in 1880, when he spent a great deal of time in the East End of the city gathering the information he incorporated in "All Sorts and Conditions of Men", the book that was responsible for the construction of the Palace of Delight. From then unto the day of his death, Besant's concern for the well-being of the London poor never waned. And that concern embraced the poor Jew no less than the poor Christian. For like the East Side in New York City, the East End contains the ghetto of London. There live not only most of the Jewish poor but most of the city's Jewish immigrants. It was soon after Besant became specially interested in the East End in fact, (1882), that the population of the ghetto rapidly increased thru the arrival of refugees from Russia. As is well known, indignation meetings were held in many parts of England to protest against Russia's inhuman treatment of her Jewish subjects. One of these meetings, similar to the gathering which in 1840 demanded the release of the Jewish prisoners in Damascus, was convened by the Lord Mayor of the city in Mansion House. Besant met many of the refugees, and tho he was not a Jew, his heart went out to them. There are those in America who demand the exclusion of the Russian Jew on the ground that he tends to lower the level of the citizenship of the country. There are those, such as Major Gordon, who take the same attitude in England. Besant saw the faults of these Jewish immigrants but he saw, also, their virtues. It is indeed difficult sometimes to credit his criticisms of them, yet he never dreamed of condemning them as wholly beyond redemp-

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tion. When he had occasion to point out Jewish weaknesses he more often quickly added that these weaknesses were not specifically Jewish, they were common to all. He speaks of some careless attendants at synagog. "Evidently to them the service was only a form. What is it in any religion, but a form to the baser sort?". "The most important foreign element", he writes in "East London", is that of the newly arrived Jewish immigrants. They are the poorest of the very poor. - - They have ingenious ways of sweating each other, and as soon as the Polish Jew has got his head above water he begins to exploit his countrymen. - - They all succeed unless they are kept down by their favorite vice of gambling. In every branch of intellectual endeavor, the Jew holds his own. He succeeds because he is industrious, patient, orderly, law-abiding, and is a person of trained intellect. Nothing but brute violence which he will not meet with here, can keep him down. There should be no feeling as of necessary separation between Jew and Christian. We ought to live in amity beside each other, if not with each other; we should no more ask if a man is a Jew than we ask if a man who has joined a club is a Roman Catholic or a Unitarian. Yet even in this country it cannot be said that the Jew is popular. There are prejudices against him which are no longer those concerning his religion. - - Go up and down the streets of East London, over the shop fronts you will see everywhere German and Jewish names. Walk along the Whitechapel road on Sunday morning, there you will see the peaceful invaders who have achieved for themselves by dint of unconquerable patience and untiring work, a far better livelihood with a far higher level of comfort than could have been possible for them in their native lands. - - As for the children, you may look for them in the Board schools; they have become English, both boys and girls; except for their names they are English through and through. They accept our institutions, laws and customs, they rejoice with our successes, they grieve with our misfortunes; never yet has it been known that the second generation of the alien has failed to become English through and through. - - I like to sit in the synagog on the Sabbath and listen to the service which I do not understand.—Let no one speak of Jews until he has listened to their service. By their worship the mind of a people may be discerned".

Obviously no man possessed of such views could write a novel denouncing the Jews. And that is why "The Rebel Queen" is one unending tribute to the faith and life and character of the Jew. And

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so, while none of the Jewish characters really appeal to us, and all fail to stir or interest us, still, very few are pictured in an objectionable light. Sydney Bernard is about the least attractive figure, and he is an angel beside Barabas.

Nevertheless while Besant wrote practically nothing without a distinct purpose, and all of his novels serve definite moral ends; while he was familiar with and accurately described the ghetto, and was a stranger to prejudice against the Jew, yet "The Rebel Queen" is anything but a good Jewish story. With all his study, serious purpose, and accuracy; with all his desire to know the truth and do justice to it, he did not succeed in getting beneath the surface of Jewish life nor in placing a proper valuation on it. What he read and saw he transcribed faithfully, but the underlying history, the emotions, the motives of which these were but an expression, he never fathomed. "I have never attempted", he said, "what is called analysis of character". And this failure affected Besant's delineation of individual and collective character. "Buchanan", a critic, has remarked, "studied life in the nude, while Besant arranged its draperies". And another confirmed this judgment by voicing the conviction that, "It was the panorama of life not the mechanism behind the panorama, that interested Besant". And that is why tho Besant wrote of a Jewish life he had studied, he did not get at its heart; why he visited the ghetto, but did not plumb its depths; why he attended the service at the synagog and praised it superlatively, and notwithstanding failed to catch its real message. And that is why the structure he reared on the central theme of "The Rebel Queen" is but a house of cards which topples once it is touched by the hand of historic truth. The Jew was born in the Orient and therefore shared many Oriental ideas and customs. To him man was superior to woman. But he never assigned to her the lowly position with which others insisted she must be content. Of course individual utterances should not be taken as representing a collective attitude. For every Jewish extremist who approximated the absurd philosophy against which Isabel Elvada rightly rebelled, there were scores of Jewish authorities who not only paid the most extravagant tributes to woman, but guaranteed her inalienable rights. Even in the Orient today the Jew never reduces woman to the position she occupies in Mohammedan life, while in the Occident, the Jewish circle does not exist in which she is not viewed as the equal of man in every respect. To picture a Jewish husband and wife of the city of

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London in the year 1893 (when "The Rebel Queen" was written) entertaining the ideas held by Emanuel and Isabel Elveda, and as permitting these views to compel a separation, which ultimately drives the woman into a denial of her faith and people, is almost preposterous.

Besant lacked the power of profound psychological analysis. Also he was not a Jew. And therefore tho he believed he knew the Jew, to whom he felt friendly and well-disposed, yet in reality the Jew remained to the last an insoluble mystery to him.

### II. Suggestions.

1. Besant is familiar only with Orthodox Judaism. Reform Judaism is almost unknown in England, and where known is bitterly condemned. There is not a single Reform Jewish congregation, tho Claude Montefiore is making heroic efforts to establish one.
2. Grace Aguilar complained that while the contemporary Jew had no excuse for remaining ignorant of his faith, the Jewess was denied the opportunity of familiarizing herself with it. There were no Jewish schools she could attend, and no Jewish books she could read. At the time "The Rebel Queen" was written, however, conditions had so changed that the complaint was no longer possible. For a Jewess, Isabel Elveda was uncommonly ignorant of the truth of Judaism.
3. "We are never left without the Law", says Emanuel. "None of us can live without the Law. The Jewish Law is a rope that binds all Jews together". And he and Isabel constantly use "Nature", "Divine Order", and "Law" as synonyms. Besant constantly refers to Jewish teachings, and the impression is created that Judaism is a religion of rigorous, unrelenting and exacting law, void of the tender emotions, and a paralyzing burden to the faithful. How often the enemies of the Jew have interpreted his faith in this way. But Schechter argues that the Psalms, outpourings of joy, could never have been written had Judaism been merely legalistic or solely identified with law in the modern acceptance of the term. In Judaism, charity, pity, kindness, mercy and love play as large a part as justice. Nor is obedience always synonymous with punishment or burdensome self-sacrifice. It may be joyous service. It is interesting to observe that while Christians of-

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ten pity Jews the necessity of bending their necks to the yoke of the "Law", the Jews never found that "Law" burdensome, but loved it, and for the privilege of bearing it freely gave up their lives. The burden of the weakling is the glory of the strong!

4. Angelo constantly refers to the Jews as "Us", always spelling the pronoun with a capital. This peculiarity suggests that the Jews are an international secret fraternity whose members are in uninterrupted touch with each other, or that they view themselves as a "Chosen People" and therefore superior to others. During the Middle Ages when so many Jews peddled for a living, and were regularly driven from place to place, Israel was somewhat more of a single united Jewish community than it is now. There are secret Jewish orders, but not one of them represents all the Jews. Jewish solidarity is today not nearly so formidable as most people believe it. It generally seems more real to Christians than to Jews. Besides, if the Jews were "chosen" it was not for privileges but for responsibilities, not because they were better than others but because they were to work to become so. The choice increased their obligations, and did not justify the growth of conceit. If there are any Jews who count themselves superior to their neighbors because they believe that God discriminated in their behalf, their number must be very small.
5. When Francesca visits the synagog, Emanuel tells her the Law is read in its entirety every week. He also speaks of the 600 commands of Judaism, when he probably means the 613 formulated by Rabbi Simlai. On the whole, however, Besant possessed an unusual familiarity with Jewish custom.
6. "A Spanish Moor is not to be distinguished from a Spanish Jew", remarks Angelo. And when Emanuel tries to prove to Francesca that her features are Jewish, she replies, "I have seen such a look in the faces of Arabs at Damascus and at Cairo. We are all Orientals". "As for me", Emanuel persists, "I see the Seal of the Chosen People. If the word Jewess was written on your forehead in plain character, it could not be more distinct". In the Orient the Jew is not to be distinguished from those among whom he lives. In Turkey he looks like a native Turk, in Algiers like an Algerian, in Egypt like an Egyptian.

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7. Note the resemblance between "Daniel Deronda" and "The Rebel Queen". In each, the Jewish mother separates from her people; in each the Jewish child is bred as a Christian; both Daniel and Francesca finally become aware of their Jewish birth and welcome the revelation.
8. Further, Francesca visits the synagog with Emanuel, and Daniel with Mordecai. Compare George Elliot's description of the synagog service with that presented by Besant.
9. Deliberately forgetting her people, Isabel devotes herself to the cause of woman's rights. The movement is especially active at present but is of a much more militant nature in England than in America.
10. London has its Jewish quarter, but it does not compare with the ghetto of New York city. In 1891 the total Jewish population of London was estimated to be 64,280; that of New York about 500,000.
11. "Stick to your own religion", says Angelo to his daughter, "and let other people stick to theirs". Good advice, in which Besant believed. Apply this thought to the missionary work of the Christian Church and to the tenet of the "Mission of the Jew".
12. Isabel wishes to forget her people but cannot. She endeavors to leave them but fails. Francesca is bred in Christian environment, but finally is drawn back to her own. Disraeli was right. "Once a Jew always a Jew". Emanuel is referring to the old grandfather. "He is a Jew; he is a hundred and three years of age. It is not wonderful to me that he has lived so long, because he is a Jew. The Christian dies at seventy; the Jew lives to a hundred years". It is generally admitted that the longevity of the Jew is greater than that of the non-Jew.
14. Emanuel cannot endure city life. He must get back to the desert, to nature; like Ruskin, like Rousseau. The Jew was once a child of nature, tiller of the soil, and man of the country. Today he is almost entirely a man of the city.
15. "To destroy the walls of the ghetto, is not to transform the residents". Emanuel. Compare with Zangwill's words, "People who have been living in a ghetto for a couple of centuries, are not able to step outside merely because the gates are thrown down, nor to efface the brands on their souls, by putting off the yellow badge".

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### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. What did Besant think of the Jew? How did he become acquainted with him?
2. Meeting the Jew so frequently, knowing him so well, why did he still fail to produce a single, real strong Jewish character in his "Rebel Queen"?
3. What do you think of his picture of the place woman occupies in Jewish life? Can you explain that picture?
4. What is meant by the "Jewish Law"? Why do Christians often call Judaism legalistic, and pronounce it burdensome? Can you refute the claim?
5. Can a Jew ever leave his people? If not, why not?
6. Compare Jewish life in England with that in America.
7. How does the ghetto of London differ from that in New York City?
8. Compare the woman of the Orient with her Occidental sister.
9. Why do so many Jews live in the cities and so few in the country? Why do so few Jews become farmers?
10. Compare Danied Deronda and Francesca; Mordecai and Emanuel.
11. Is the Jewish woman playing any part in the movement for woman's rights?
12. Why is the Jew longer lived than the Christian?
13. "Our People", says the old grandfather, "make the happiest families in the world". Do they?
14. Sydney Bernard cannot understand pleasures that do not involve "speculation or sport—or gambling". What do you think of the pleasures of the Jew? Are many Jews gamblers? The Rabbis put the gambler in the same class with the usurer and permitted neither to testify in court.
16. Is there Jewish solidarity? If so to what is it due?
17. What is the secret of Israel's immortality? "The Israelite in all ages has loved power above all things; his greatest punishment therefore has been his state of poverty and weakness". Emanuel. Is the charge true?



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### LESSON XII.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Children of the Ghetto". Israel Zangwill. (1864—).

When the first volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia appeared it was subjected to criticism because it contained the biographies of living men and women. This criticism was based on the belief that an encyclopedia ought to perpetuate the names only of those who have been weighed in the balance of time and have not been found wanting. Without any partisanship, we believe it is plainly wiser to allow the years to multiply over the graves of men before attempting to determine their historic importance. To judge them while they are yet with us is to risk the possibility of having our judgment reversed by later generations. A certain amount of distance is necessary to attain the proper perspective. On the one hand under the glamour of brilliancy and spell of achievement, we are in danger of foundering on the Scylla of exaggeration. On the other hand, affected by the misunderstanding to which genius is so frequently subjected, we often find it difficult to escape the Charybdis of underestimation. Truth is not discovered in a day. Many a popular idol is quickly forgotten, and many a second generation pays delayed tribute to the memory of those whom the first delighted to stone.

The authors of those books which we have thus far considered are all among the unnumbered dead. Marlowe died 1593, Besant 1901. Of the remaining six writers whose work we shall study, five still live. The sixth passed away but a short time ago, her main contribution to Jewish literature appearing the year of Besant's death.

Now it is possible that these writers are not destined for immortality. Still as the best modern exponents of that particular phase of literature which interests us, they deserve serious attention. Besides, the Jew is decidedly better known today than ever he has been before. In the ghetto he was apart from the world. Today he is a part of it. Then writers knew little of him, so that when they described him, the result represented not accuracy but imagination. Now he is a public figure. Even such as do not wish to associate with him cannot help hearing about him or seeing him, and if they

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wish they can meet him and approximate the truth about him. If still they caricature him, the motive is either a malicious or mercenary one, or both. But in literature, the Jew is seldom made the revolting figure he formerly was.

Another explanation for the elevation of the Jew in fiction is found in the fact that most of the writers who introduce him into their stories are Jews. It is true that occasionally these stories are neither entertaining nor satisfying. Some of our modern authors have created Jewish characters as offensive as any that ever invited our ire. And yet the Jew ought to know his people, and the tale he tells ought to contain the truth.

Zangwill wrote "The Children of the Ghetto" in 1892. The real ghetto became a matter of the past when the walls of the Jewish quarter in Rome went down about two generations ago. Today the Jews are not obliged to live together or limit themselves to certain restricted areas. And yet almost everywhere they still continue to do so. The explanation is not far to seek. The habit of centuries is not easily thrown off. The Jews were excluded so long that it is difficult to realize that the barriers have been removed. Where persecution is still rampant, contiguity develops a feeling of security. Besides, the immigrant Jew immediately settles in the district in which his coreligionists live, because they speak his language, understand him, and sympathize with him. Even where active persecution has given way to social discrimination, the Jewish people flock together because they will not go where they are not wanted. Which explains why Jews in comfortable circumstances, natives even of the land in which they live, seldom have other than Jewish associates. And if history were not responsible, is it not natural for those of similar beliefs to mingle? Whatever the reason, the ghetto, while today a self-imposed institution, still exists, tho it is most conspicuous of course in the larger cities.

The largest ghetto in the world is the one in New York City. The scene of Zangwill's story is laid in the ghetto of London. George Eliot and Walter Besant visited and described it, and both were in sympathy with its inhabitants. But Zangwill was born in it, and tho he left it for a while came back to live in it. Living there the district became an open book to him. And being a Jew, nothing that transpired there, nothing that the people believed or said or did, was difficult for him to understand. And being an artist he knew how to describe what he saw with Jewish eyes, so that his characters should seem not inventions, not automata, but real men

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and women. With all this special equipment, his first essay in literature was "The Premier and Painter" written in collaboration with Lewis Cowen; a story in which Jewish life plays absolutely no part. In 1891 he also wrote "The Bachelors Club" and in 1892 "The Old Maids' Club", from each of which we learn that the humor of yesterday is not that of today nor the wit of England that of America. Two Jewish stories "Satan Mekatrig" and "The Diary of a Meshumad", which appeared originally 1888-1889, (and were afterward reprinted in "Ghetto Tragedies" and still later in "They That Walk in Darkness") attracted the attention of the Jewish Publication Society of America, for which the author agreed to write a novel of modern Jewish life. The result was "The Children of the Ghetto" which was published in 1892.

The sub-title of the book is "Pictures of a Peculiar People" and if it were not that one or two figures are retained in the foreground until the end, the tale might well be regarded as a series of independent sketches rather than a single closely-related whole. Yet the scenes are all drawn from Jewish life, not only of the East End, but of the richer district, separate from it and yet part of it. Esther Ansell is adopted by Mrs. Goldsmith, and enters an altogether new environment. Yet her heart carries her back to the environment in which she was born, which even they who try to wean her from it, cannot altogether forget or outgrow. And because the story contains so many scenes, covering the whole field of Jewish activity, it introduces scores of Jewish characters representing every phase of Jewish life; from the schnorrer to the rich merchant; from the pious beggar—to whom faith is everything and money nothing,—to the radical who shares Heine's belief that "Judaism is a misfortune"; from the fanatic who observes all the minutiae of Jewish practice to the skeptic who throws everything Jewish overboard; from the enthusiast who would restore Jewish political independence, to the snob who tries to disguise his Jewish birth; from the prodigal son who recognizes no obligation, filial or otherwise, to the child who gives up all rather than break her father's heart. The ghetto is a world in, if not unto itself, and Zangwill portrays in vivid and realistic form the "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" who compose it.

Some ten years ago the story was dramatized. That was neither the first nor the last dramatic venture of the author. "Six Persons", "Three Penny Bits", "The Revolting Daughter", "The Moment of

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Death", "Merely Mary Ann", "The Serio-Comic Governess", were all produced by Zangwill and with considerable success, "Merely Mary Ann" enjoying an especially long run. At the present writing "The Melting Pot" is still on the boards, and is everywhere meeting marked expressions of approval. If its career is abbreviated it will be for no other reason in the world than that its theme is Jewish. But "The Children of the Ghetto" was a success neither on the American nor the English stage. It is interesting to inquire why. When it was first presented Zangwill was neither a novice nor an unknown. His ability was universally recognized. Nor would a theatrical manager have ventured to place the play upon the stage if he had not felt confident that it possessed sufficient merit to achieve public favor. Still the play failed. First because it was too specifically Jewish. All its characters were Jews and the life it depicted was altogether Jewish. Now the Jew is today a prominent figure and is daily receiving increased attention, and respect. But he is by no means so popular a figure that he can hope to attract a Christian audience when he occupies the stage entirely, and after all no pretentious performance can succeed by appealing to Jews alone. For that matter Jews were neither last nor least in their criticism of the play. They said the Christian would not understand it and would therefore find in it fuel for the fire of his prejudice. Then while its psychology is meant to be universal, "The Children of the Ghetto", is necessarily enwrapped in an English atmosphere, and it is difficult for an American to appreciate all the ways of his English cousin. We are all largely products of our environment, and that environment affects our vision, so that what is not of our own land, seems strange, and bizarre to us. We repeat William Lloyd Garrison's words, "My country is the world", but we do not accept his interpretation. Furthermore, Zangwill describes the life of the ghetto, and accessible and important as that ghetto is, it is passing strange that such a host of men and women should know practically nothing of it. Many a Jew never comes out of the ghetto, many a Christian never goes into it. And many a Jew born beyond its walls is as little familiar with it as his Christian neighbor. When a reporter visits the ghetto and describes his experiences, his impressions are received as revelations. Finally ghetto life is generally speaking conservative. Radicals of all kinds call it home. Socialism, and atheism, flourish there, but the mass of the people are politically and religiously orthodox. There is irreligion in the ghetto

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but no Reform Judaism. And Orthodox Judaism is Talmudic and Shulhan Aruk Judaism, and what does the average reader or theatre-goer, Christian or Jew, know of this literature which forms the bulwark of Orthodoxy? Perhaps these facts will explain why "The Children of the Ghetto" received such a cheerless welcome. It tells us of the Jew, the English Jew, the ghetto Jew, the Talmudic Jew, and to the world at large that Jew is not a familiar figure but a total stranger.

Zangwill describes vividly the overwhelming criticism to which Esther Ansell's book written under the nom de plume of Arimtage, was subjected. Was this the narration of a personal experience or was it designed as a prediction? Still, as a book "The Children of the Ghetto" was cordially received. Reading it critics agreed that a new star had arisen. It was the play that did not find favor. Even here the fault belonged not to Zangwill but to the public. He should scarcely have been held accountable for their failure to understand. So the blind man argues that there is no sun. Grant that the play was composed of "Pictures of a Peculiar People". If the people were real, and were artistically drawn, and if the scenes in which they appeared were dramatically constructed and properly related, what ground was there for denunciation or ridicule? Reb Shemuel, Malka, Pinchas, Strelitzki and the rest who meet and mingle with them, are not familiar, but they are also not imaginative figures. They pay as much tribute to Zangwill's power of description as to his originality and creative ability. They are realities, products of the past and living under the spell of that past, but still part and parcel of the moving mass that today constitutes the London ghetto. Out of rhyme, out of tune with the present, an exotic laboring to adjust itself to its new environment before its life is spent, that mass is still here, still vital, and is therefore still to be reckoned with.

Yet despite his unquestioned and exceptional ability, Zangwill is not altogether free from fault. He is the leading modern Jewish author. Everything he writes is interesting. He knows Jewish life and he knows how to tell of it. His plots are developed with consummate skill. And his style is classic.

But given to the making of epigrams, Zangwill often sacrifices truth to expression. To make his thought striking, he exaggerates. In the heat of argument he yields too readily to generalization. Many of his assertions are too sweeping. It has been said of George Eliot that while she knew how to be humorous, all her Jewish char-

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acters were the embodiments of seriousness. Zangwill often tries to be humorous. Usually he fails. His humor is strained and exaggerated. He is at his best when he describes Jewish tragedies. And because he is, he makes it appear that all Jewish life is a tragedy. He brings a varied hosts of characters before us, but most of them have this in common, that they suffer. Sometimes they are pessimistic, sometimes cynical, sometimes patient, and many times deeply religious, but always a deep gloom hovers over them. In "The Children of the Ghetto" the darkness is now and then pierced by a ray of sunshine. In Zangwill's later stories even this ray is wanting. All is suffering, sorrow, solemnity. The tragic it is true grips our attention. And the Jewish problem being a serious problem, the story of the Jew these many centuries has been tragic. But the past is not the present. And even in the past the Jew knew how to smile. Not all Jewish lives are tragedies. Some are full of romance, and many, of happy comedy.

Besides novels and short stories, Zangwill has written a great many articles and delivered many addresses on Jewish subjects. For years he has been especially interested in Zionism. When the Zionist began to confine his hope and field of operations to Palestine, Zangwill established an institution of his own, the Jewish Territorial Organization, more familiarly known as the Ito, with the avowed purpose of founding autonomous Jewish colonies wherever grants of land and proper governmental guarantees could be secured. The organization is now actively engaged in diverting the stream of Jewish immigration from New York to Galveston. "As a practical solution of the Jewish question", he says in an article on "Zionism and Territorialism" contributed to the April number of the Fortnightly Review, "Palestinian Zionism is already bankrupt, and had Dr. Herzl's Zionism been limited to Palestine, his remedy for the Judenschmerz might already be written down a failure. It will become a failure finally and irremediably if his followers by neglecting the fast vanishing historical opportunities that remain in an over-exploited world, insist on killing Zionism for the sake of Zion.—If the only future for the Jews is peaceful citizenship, as a religious minority, it is better that they should become more American than the Americans, than more Ottoman than the Ottomans".

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### II. Suggestions.

1. The Jew plays a more prominent part in English fiction today than he ever played before. The picture of him now drawn is not yet ideal, nor altogether just. Often it reflects little credit on those it is supposed to represent. But it is seldom the caricature, the villainous monstrosity it used to be. The Jew is becoming better known. And Jewish authors and novelists who ought to understand him, are giving him place in their productions. Most of the books mentioned in the Supplementary Bibliography were written during the last twenty-five years.
2. Zangwill was born in the London ghetto, and therefore wrote of what he knew. But England is not America, and the English Jew is not the counterpart of his American brother. Environment tells.
3. "The Children of the Ghetto" are almost all, either thoroly orthodox, or altogether indifferent to their faith. Few are reform Jews. Strelitzki gives up Orthodoxy only to abandon the ministry.
4. Zangwill is often inconsistent. Indeed it is difficult frequently to tell exactly what he believes. Religiously he will voice the most radical views, and the next moment he will rhapsodize over old Jewish ceremonies. Now he is orthodox. Then he is a free-lance. And again he ridicules Reform. One day he argues that Zionism is the only solution of the Jewish problem. The next he insists that the only hope lies in intermarriage. But Zangwill is a dreamer, and an artist, and artists are proverbial for their eccentricities. Besides, Mr. Russel calls English Judaism "amphibious".
5. Zangwill is by no means a ghetto Jew. And few of his friends and associates are ghetto Jews. Yet when he wrote "The Children of the Ghetto", he expressed little admiration for those who had passed out of the Jewish quarter. He liked the "Children" but not the "Grandchildren" of the ghetto. Volume I is full of sympathy; vol. II of sarcasm and ridicule.
6. Abraham Cahan says "The Children of the Ghetto" tells us of "the world of Talmudic Judaism crumbling under the pressure of modern culture". The disintegration is practically inevitable. The end may be delayed, but it is certain. Conservatism has a brighter future than Orthodoxy.



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7. There is often a kinship between extremes. Sometimes it is but a step from exacting ceremonialism to atheism. Many a righteous mother bears prodigal children; and many a pious father lives to see his son altogether abandon the synagogue.
8. Consistent Orthodoxy is difficult but not impossible, even today. And where it is achieved it is by no means incompatible with beautiful character. Witness Reb Shemuel. Still its very justification necessitates an emphasis upon the letter, often at the expense of the spirit, of the Law. "Spirit without letter is a mere phantasm", says Schechter. But unfortunately, letter without spirit is often a reality.
9. Judaism is a religion not of sorrow but of joy. But it is also a religion of duty. We are to get out of life all the happiness we can, but duty must be done, whatever the sacrifice.
10. George Elliot became a Zionist because of her theory of heredity and tradition; Zangwill, because he could see no other practical answer to the Jewish Question. Vol. II p. 207, Raphael calls Strelitzki a dreamer on account of his criticism of Zionism. Today the criticism is usually reversed.
11. Esther at home in a dingy garret in the ghetto, is homeless in the midst of wealth. Human nature cannot be changed in a day. Healthy growth demands native soil. The whole question of the break-up of the ghetto is involved here. Evolution not revolution must be our watchword.
12. Belcovitch works his men hard and pays them little. Besant, Russel, Webb, all charge the ghetto Jew of London with exploiting his immigrant coreligionists. The charge has also frequently been made against the ghetto of New York. Is it true?
13. David Brandon was in business in South Africa. Many English Jews were and are actively engaged in commerce there.
14. "In spirit", argues Raphael Leon, "orthodox Judaism is undoubtedly akin to Socialism". Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle were both Jews, and today the movement to which they were so passionately devoted, gains many recruits from Jewish ranks.
15. "The conception of the Jew in the mind of the average Christian", says Sidney Graham, "is a mixture of Fagin, Shylock, Rothschild, and the caricatures of the American comic papers". And the claim contains more than a grain of truth, ev-

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on tho the Jew is known better, and less persecuted and hated than he used to be.

16. Poor as she is, Mrs. Kosminsky does not hesitate to share her little with the Ansell. The poor always help the poor. Indeed they give proportionately more to charity than do the rich. "It is not what we give but what we share that counts".
17. Besides "The Children of the Ghetto" and his many articles, Zangwill's Jewish writings include "Ghetto Tragedies" (1893), "The King of Schnorrers" (1894), "Dreamers of the Ghetto" (1898), "They That Walk in Darkness" (1900), "Blind Children" (1903), "Ghetto Comedies" (1907), and "The Melting Pot" (1909).

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Why is the literary caricature of the Jew gradually disappearing? What part is the Jew playing in the movement?
2. Why, since the Jews are allowed to live where they please, does the ghetto still continue?
3. How does the modern ghetto differ from the old? How does the London ghetto differ from that of New York city?
4. Give a brief account of the life of Zangwill. How is his life reflected in his writings?
5. Why was "The Children of the Ghetto" a dramatic failure?
6. What do you mean by Talmudic Judaism, and how does it differ from the Judaism you usually encounter?
7. What is meant by the letter of the law as opposed to the spirit? Give some examples from Jewish life.
8. How are orthodoxy and heterodoxy related?
9. Mention some of Zangwill's inconsistencies. Can you explain them?
10. Esther and Raphael. How can ghetto and non-ghetto Jew meet on common ground?
11. What do we mean by saying that evolution is better than revolution?
12. What has Judaism to say of happiness and duty?
13. Why are the Jews called a peculiar people?
14. Why is the ghetto opposed to Reform Judaism?
15. What is the Shulhan Aruk?

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16. What is a shadchan? How did he originate?
17. "Jews are very fond of telling stories against themselves—but they tell them with closed doors, and resent them from the outside" (I. 44). Is this so? Is a Jew justified in making public the faults of his people, even tho what he says be true?
18. Compare Strelitzki's fervent plea for Zionism (I. 277) with that of Mordecai in "Daniel Deronda".
19. What does Zangwill mean by the expression, "Poor, rich Jews" (II. 22).

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J. E.

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### LESSON XIII.

#### I. Required Reading.

"The Sons of the Covenant". Samuel Gordon. (1871—).

The average Christian believes that all Jews are rich. As he seldom visits the ghetto, Jewish poverty escapes him. When Jewish poor ask for aid they almost invariably ask it of their coreligionists. That is why there are so many Jewish charitable institutions. Then ostentation is a characteristic of the newly rich, Jewish or non-Jewish, and some of the small number of Jews who have acquired wealth since the ghetto walls went down, have not had time properly to adjust themselves to their changed condition. Leaving the ghetto and displaying their riches they give the impression of general Jewish prosperity. When will the world cease generalizing about the Jew? But the multiplicity of Jewish charitable institutions witnesses to something more than a hesitation on the part of Jewish poor to ask aid of Christians. It makes it plain that the number of Jews who are in need is much greater than the non-Jewish world knows. As a matter of fact while some Jews are rich and many are in comfortable circumstances, most are poor. Of course it is not surprising that in countries like Russia and Roumania, the majority of Jews should find it a herculean task to make both ends meet. But all thru the Orient too, the economic position of the Jew is distressing. Nor is it especially difficult to understand why there are very many poor among the Jews even in the United States and England, as most of them are immigrants, coming from lands where under existing discriminative legislation, to make a living is almost an impossibility. The Jew will leave home to better his condition. But if he is at all comfortable he remains where he was born. If he goes, it is usually because hunger drives him in search of brighter skies. That is why the possessions of the Jewish immigrant usually consist of nothing but faith and hope and courage, and why so many of those who live in the modern ghetto have little beyond what will suffice for their daily needs. Last year the number of Jewish poor in the ghetto of New York was so great that the Jewish charities were utterly unable to provide for them, while in London in 1883, no less than 23 % of the total Jewish population found

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it necessary to accept some form of aid. (See Joseph Jacobs, "Studies in Jewish Statistics" p. 12).

Sometimes poverty makes for character; sometimes it makes for immorality and crime. It is often a handicap to a man to be born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but we are prone to overestimate the advantages that wait upon him who is born in want. Denied opportunity, poverty is apt to substitute trickery and shrewdness, for honesty. And they who suffer from deprivation, often plunge into vice and immorality to forget their sorrows. Moreover, while poverty is not at all incompatible with cleanliness, it is not surprising that in the ghetto we find much squalor. And poverty in the ghetto also results in the keenest kind of competition, in the sweat-shop with its unsanitary surroundings and its long hours of labor for a pittance of wage, and in congested living quarters with their heavy toll of sickness and death. These are the harrowing features of the ghetto, but we shall make a serious mistake if we conclude that they constitute the entire picture. Considering the conditions from which the modern ghetto sprang, conditions still responsible for its development and growth, it is wonderful that it contains so much of ability, and admirable character. We are inclined to look upon the ghetto as the Jewish slum. Yet large parts of the ghetto compare favorably with districts beyond its borders. And at its worst, it is generally admitted that it is above the level of the average non-Jewish slum. Indeed, impartial observers are unanimous in asserting that in driving others before it the ghetto vastly improved the moral situation that obtained before it spread. That assertion has been repeatedly made of the New York ghetto, and it holds equally good of the one in London. "The Jews have renovated Whitechapel", the managers of several London charitable institutions told Jacob Riis when they led him thru the poor districts of the English metropolis, and Russel who made a careful study of the Jews of the East End in London, confirms the statement. "Dirt, overcrowding, industry and sobriety", he says, "may be set down as the most conspicuous features of these foreign settlements. In many cases they have completely transformed the character of the neighborhood. There are certain districts of Whitechapel, which—before they were over-run by the foreigners—were haunted by roughs criminals of the worst description, and had as evil a reputation as any slums in London. These are now exceptionally quiet and orderly; and except in school hours, generally alive with swarms of small children whose brightness, decency of garb, and apparent enjoyment of life give al-

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most a sunny aspect to their surroundings. Not long ago Col. Bingham, then at the head of the police department of New York city stated that half the criminals of that city were Jews. Later he retracted the charge, altho an apology never overtakes an accusation. The Jew is no angel, either without the ghetto or within. As Dr. Radin once said, "considering their numbers, the Jews are entitled to a few criminals". But Jewish contributions to the annals of crime are not disproportionate, and even these contributions are seldom of the vicious and brutal kind. All things considered, the ghetto Jew compares favorably with the poor of any people, and with many who have long outgrown their poverty.

It is of this many sided Jew of the ghetto of London that Gordon writes in his "Sons of the Covenant". Born in Buk, Germany, Gordon came to live in London in 1883. When he wrote this story therefore, he had a seventeen year acquaintance with the life he described. So it was no strange tongue that told the tale. The environment is practically identical with that of "The Children of the Ghetto", yet it is difficult to discover any similarity. Zangwill and Gordon view the same scene with totally different eyes. Where the one finds the sordid, the grotesque, the tragic, the hopeless, the other sees the appealing, the quaintly humorous, the happy and hopeful. Gordon does not pass by the sad and unsatisfactory side of the ghetto. He knows its failings, its hardships, its sorrows. But that knowledge does not make him bitter, sarcastic, nor cynical. Even in the depths he finds possibility and promise. Narrow Alley is to him more than a filthy lane. He takes us to the ghetto beyond the walls, and introduces us not simply to hypocrisy, selfishness, and materialism, but to culture, refinement, spirituality, and altruism. He sees the two sides of London Jewish life, but he does not find them antagonistic to each other. Nor does he allow the appeal of the old to blind him to the charm of the new. Mrs. Lipcott is poor but is still an admirable, self-sacrificing character. Mrs. Duveen is rich and has passed out of the ghetto, but has lost none of her Jewishness and none of her worth. Mrs. Dimaond is amusing, but not ridiculous. And even Yellow Joe is not left without a redeeming virtue. Zangwill is the realist and pessimist; Gordon the idealist and optimist. The characters both have created actually exist, but because they are drawn with kindlier and more hopeful hand, and because there is less of gloom and despair about them, those of Gordon are more appealing. Zangwill's figures stir, thrill and fascinate us. Do not drama and tragedy always move us more profoundly.

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than comedy? But they also make us uncomfortable and sad. Gordon on the other hand, believing that men should be judged not by their worst but by their best qualities, that no life is wholly tragic or wholly vicious, that the ghetto possesses as much sunshine as shadow, and that Jewish life is not a story of present despair hurrying to a conclusion of complete oblivion, pictures men and women who are equally real, but more natural and more human.

Both Zangwill and Gordon realize that the ghetto is not all that it should be and that in some way its congestion ought to be relieved. But how is that relief to be achieved? Christians in England and America none too friendly to the Jews, urge that immigration should be more rigorously restricted. This might help the situation somewhat, but the cost would be too great. It would close the doors on those poor Jewish refugees, for whom life in their native lands spells only constant suffering. And poverty is easier to bear than persecution. Which explains the heavy Jewish immigration to the United States. There was a time when Mr. Zangwill was convinced that Zionism was the only solution of the Jewish problem. No one cried this conviction aloud more ably or ardently than did he. "By providing a home for the persecuted Jews of the world, a Jewish country", he argued, "we would lessen the pressure on the Jews already residing in lands of freedom". Today the Ito is actively engaged not in the restoration of political independence for the Jew, but in helping Jewish immigrants to reach the southern and western instead of the northern and eastern parts of the United States. In the city of New York an institution now exists whose representatives cover the length and breadth of the land, seeking (more especially in the cities,) positions for those who cannot make a living in the ghetto and are being pushed to the wall. And there are two Jewish organizations, one in New York and one in Chicago, and two Jewish farm schools, one in New York, and one in Pennsylvania, all trying to persuade and fit the Jew of the ghetto to give up the sweat shop for the farm. All of these agencies have done an incalculable amount of good. In England too, the Jewish Colonization Association or Ica, as it is known, is also working toward the same end. But the number of Jews in the ghetto is so great, and Jewish immigration so heavy, that the general situation has not found much improvement.

Gordon believes in orthodox Judaism. (Is it not almost sufficient to say that he is an English Jew?) But he is not a Zionist.

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The Jewish problem, he believes, must be solved in the land in which the Jew lives. "The solution of the so-called Jewish question", he makes Phil say, "must be sought for separately and individually in the countries which the respective contingents of our coreligionists have adopted for their habitat". Even if a Jewish land ever becomes a reality, "any intermediate disciplining of our racial resources cannot but act beneficially on whatever may prove the eventual outcome of the movement". Gordon thus devotes little time to the future of Palestine. His whole heart is in the present and future of the already existing ghetto. The ghetto he sees is terribly overcrowded. Its opportunities are few in number, its trades, even, are restricted. Most of the older immigrants are engaged in sweatshop work or in peddling. Children denied educational advantages, because the wage they can earn is necessary for the support of the home; follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Newly arrived immigrants enter the same commercial lines, recruiting ranks already full to overflowing, and thus necessarily reduce the income level. To remedy these conditions, Gordon suggests Jewish training schools, wherein Jewish children may learn trades which would otherwise not be possible for them. These trades will help them get out of the ghetto, will give them better wages, raise their standard of living, and also enable them to be of more aid to their elders. These latter, because of their age and their crystallized habits, will probably remain where they are until they die.

The suggestion is by no means new. Long before Gordon advanced it, it had been tried out in New York. And still the distressing conditions of the large ghetto continue. Nevertheless, the plan has already worked wonders, and promises larger and better results than any other that has yet been adopted. The technical school may not solve the ghetto problem, but it points the way. That Gordon wrote "The Sons of the Covenant" as a plea for the introduction of such institutions, makes it appear that while they were known and in operation in America, they had not yet been established in England. But the ghetto in London has never been so serious a matter as that in New York. According to the Jewish Year Book just issued, the total Jewish population of Great Britain is said to be only 240,546, while that of London is estimated not to exceed 150,000. In 1900 it was only 100,000.

Leuw and Phil, leaving the ghetto, return to help it. The ghetto must help to save itself. Congested as it still is, thousands are leav-



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ing it annually. And however far from it they go, and however long they remain away from it, they understand it better than do those who were born beyond its borders. And because they understand and have been able to rise above it, they should be the first to help those left behind. The solution of the ghetto as of the larger Jewish problem must come from within. "You and I", says Phil to Leuw, "represent the two main characteristics, the two broad subdivisions, in which the vitality, the stamina of our people admittedly manifests itself; you the material, the commercial, to speak accurately—I the intellectual. It is the systematic and heart-whole co-operation of these two which is the first great requisite, if we are to react with any effect at all on the subject of our experiment. Excuse the coldly scientific phraseology". The problem of the ghetto is still complex. And its solution is still a matter of the distant future. But that solution will never be found until up-town Jew and down-town Jew, orthodox Jew and reform Jew, ghetto Jew, and ghetto-emancipated Jew, seek it and labor for it together.

### II. Suggestions.

1. Economic considerations are at the bottom of the heavy migratory movement of our day. But whereas the average emigrant leaves home in order to better his material condition, the Jew usually migrates simply to escape religious persecution, to reach a land where he will be free to make an honest living. If he enjoys this opportunity in his native country he does not leave it. That is why Congressman Bennett said recently that our immigration laws should not apply to the Jews seeking our shores, because they should be viewed not as immigrants but as refugees.
2. Most Jews are poor; many are in comfortable circumstances, and some are rich. But not one is to be found among those who are the richest in the world.
3. The ghetto has its failings. For some of them the long centuries of persecution the Jew endured are responsible. For some, America itself must bear the blame. Much that is bad in the immigrant has developed since he came here. He has suffered more harm than he has done. Many of the vices of the ghetto too, are the outcome of poverty. For the remainder, the Jew must hold himself accountable.

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4. But the ghetto Jew is neither a curiosity nor a monstrosity. He is simply a human being, an average human being, and therefore while he has his faults, he has his virtues. He deserves some criticism, but much credit. Living in the slums, he is above the level of those he has displaced, and he has improved the districts into which he has moved.
5. If there are 1,500,000 Jews in this country, fully two-thirds must live in the city of New York. Of the remainder, the majority live in the East. The same condition prevails in England. More than 50 % of the Jews in that country live in London. If the congestion of the Jewish quarters of the world is to be relieved, some means must be found, not only of distributing those who already live in them, but of keeping others from entering, at least in large numbers. The plan of diverting immigration from the ghetto seems more promising than that of removing and distributing those who have reached it. Once the Jew enters the ghetto it is difficult to persuade him to leave it, until his material condition has sufficiently improved. Then he needs no urging.
6. Zangwill and Gordon lived in the same ghetto. Yet their stories bear little resemblance. Zangwill is the more dramatic; Gordon the more cheerful and hopeful. Both write of what they know, but where the one finds despair, the other sees only bright promise.
7. "The Children of the Ghetto" live in the past and present; the "Sons of the Covenant" live in the present and future.
8. Not all the ghetto is of one level. It shelters both Yellow Joe, and Leuw Lipcott. Poverty is no proof of piety; as riches do not necessarily betoken irreligiousness. Faith does not always go out of the window when wealth comes in at the door. Not all Jews of means are Goldsmiths; some are Duveens.
9. As "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" produced the "Palace of Delight", "The Sons of the Covenant" may also achieve some material result. How much the pen has done for the progress and uplift of mankind! "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war".
10. Phil is a dreamer; Uncle Bram is eminently practical; Leuw is a combination of the two. Not all Jews are alike. Now the Jew is an idealist, and again he is a practical man of affairs. One moment he is a prophet; the next he is a successful merchant.

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11. Leuw possesses unusual commercial, Phil exceptional intellectual ability. The Jew is prominent in both directions. As a business man, his talent is recognized everywhere. It is often said that no community can become substantial without its quota of Jewish merchants. And in schools and colleges and universities the Jew always carries off more than his proportion of honors. The Jewish merchant, however poor, usually insists upon giving his son an education that will train him for professional life.
12. Leuw and Phil leave the ghetto but come back to it. The ghetto must help to save itself. The Jew has always cared for his own. That is why the world wonders if there are any poor Jews. Jew is brother to Jew and ought to recognize and measure up to the obligation of his relationship. Unfortunately while Jewish charity deserves the commendation it receives, many Jews are not charitable. In every Jewish community it is only the minority that contribute to charitable causes. Many never give, and only few give liberally.
13. Christopher argues that the "Jew and Scotchman are baked in the same oven". Attention has been frequently called to the resemblances between the two.
14. Christopher is speaking to Leuw. "Do you remember what these places hereabouts was like forty odd year ago?—It was just like old Beelzebub had taken the lid off hell, and had let all his pet sinners out for a holiday. There wasn't a night passed without some shindy or murder or mutilation down one of these alleys.—Just thenabouts you 'Ebrews began to show up,—well God knows how they worked it, but presently all the wickedness began to scurry away like rats when the daylight shines in through the pantry window—and then things became quiet and nice and respectable". Jewish testimony here agrees with Christian. Yet there are those who would have us believe that the Jew is an undesirable citizen.
15. Phil intends the institution he purposes establishing, to be Jewish. "I can see", he says to Leuw, "you, too, are frightened at the denominational bogey". Why should institutions ministering wholly to Jews, and almost entirely supported by them, wish to be known as non-sectarian? Why should not a distinctively Jewish association announce itself as such? Why should we call ourselves "Americans of the Jewish persuasion", instead of Jews?

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16. "We are a people", remarks Phil, "whose soul is their traditions, and we have learnt the knack of gripping the future with one hand while keeping hold of the past with the other". That should define the religious position of the Jew.
17. Leuw tells Phil the story of Sydney Mitchell or Solly Myers, the Jewish soldier who fought so bravely in the Crimean war, and then adds, "It is only by taking on ourselves the national burdens of Empire to a greater extent than can reasonably be demanded of us that we should requite our obligations to the mother-land". Jews ought to be good citizens, ought to be patriotic and they are. But no land has a right to exact more of them than of their neighbors, nor need they yield more to "requite their obligations". The Jew pays his indebtedness when he simply equals the record of the Christian. But because his virtues are usually discounted, it were well for him to try to outstrip others in civic interest.
18. In 1902 there were 120 Jews in the English navy and marines, 550 in the regular army, 180 in the militia, 800 in the British yeomanry and volunteers, and 500 in the colonial militia.
19. Besides "The Sons of the Covenant", Gordon has written of the Jew in the following volumes: "A Handful of Exotics" (1897); "Daughters of Shem" (1898); "Lesser Destinies" (1899); "Strangers at the Gate"—same as "Daughters of Shem" but with a few additional tales—(1902); "Unto Each Man His Own" (1904); and "The Ferry of Fate" (1906).

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Why are so many Jews poor?
2. How can poverty ever be a blessing and wealth a curse?
3. How does the ghetto compare with the average slum?
4. What is responsible for the congestion of the ghetto?
5. How is this congestion to be remedied? Name some of the means that have been employed to this end.
6. What is the difference between an immigrant and a refugee? Should our immigration laws distinguish between the two?
7. What harm has the immigrant done America? What harm has America done the immigrant?
8. What are the Ica, the Ito, and Alliance Israelite Universelle?
9. Why is the Jew unwilling to leave the ghetto unless he prospers materially? Why is he not a successful tiller of the soil?

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10. What do you think of Zangwill's present attitude toward Zionism?
11. How will Zionism, even if successful, affect the congestion of the ghetto?
12. Contrast the ghetto of Zangwill with that of Gordon. Can you explain the difference?
13. Is the ghetto problem limited to the large cities?
14. What characteristics have the Scotchman and the Jew in common? How about the Jew in Scotland?
15. Compare Mrs. Goldsmith and Mrs. Duveen, Raphael Leon and Phil Lipcott.
16. Which appeals the more to you, "The Children of the Ghetto" or "The Sons of the Covenant"? Why?
17. "Our race is prodigal in towering talent, but is ~~chary~~ <sup>poor</sup> in real masterminds.—Instead of exhausting its resources in the production of genius, it prefers to consummate itself more in brilliant mediocrity". (p. 463). "Our greatest danger has been our pre-eminence". (p. 464). "We Jews as a race have never taken kindly to callings involving the applied sciences". (p. 332). Are these statements true?

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#### Charity among the Jews.

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#### Jews and Education.

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#### Jews and Commerce.

See Bibliography. Lesson II

#### "The Sweat-shop.

J. E. "Trades Unionism".

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**Jews in Modern London.**

See Bibliography Lesson XI.

**Jews in Scotland.**

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## **LESSON XIV.**

### **I. Required Reading.**

"The Heirs of Yesterday". Emma Wolf. (1865—).

The legend of "The Wandering Jew" is pure fiction, yet the fate it meted out to a single Jew has been practically that of the whole Jewish people. Not Kartophilos or Ahashuerus was "The Wandering Jew" but almost every child of Israel. And this fate was not a punishment for any wrong the Jew had done, or any crime he had committed. It was simply the penalty he paid for the faith and mission God had assigned him. There are those who like to travel. Home spells monotony, and variety is the necessary spice of life for them. Season after season they wander from one place to another. But they do not have to go. They can settle down permanently when and where they please. They move about because they prefer doing so. But while the Jew was always a wanderer, wandering with him was a matter not of preference but of necessity. He went

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not because he wanted to, but because he had to. Sometimes he reached a land which after temporary residence he was glad to call home. Suddenly a decree would be issued driving him into exile. Or he would be subjected to such trying discrimination, that he would be compelled to leave in order to secure sustenance. Economic reasons are at the bottom of the general migratory movement of our day. People leave their native lands that they may make a better living. No government forces them to go, either driving them out by decree or so oppressing them as to compel them to seek escape in emigration. But whenever the Jew goes, the hand of persecution is responsible. And that is why the Jew practically has reached every known land. He has touched the four corners of the earth. Go where you will you will find him. He lives in China, in Australia, in South Africa and South America, in Hawaii, in Canada, in Alaska, and in all the countries that lie between. Uproot a flower and transplant it in foreign soil, and it usually dies. Carry a bird into new environment and release it and it cannot live. And many an exile yearning for the land to which he dare not return, has gone to an early death broken-hearted. But the Jew has gone everywhere, and always he has managed to take hold and survive. Drummond argues that the more an animal adjusts itself to its environment, the longer it will live; that man lives longer than the animal because his adjustment is more complete, and that if this adjustment could be made absolute, man would achieve earthly immortality. Does this explain the continuance of the Jew? Early in his wanderings the Jew learned that adjustment spelled life and mal-adjustment, death, and because he loved life, he at once began to adapt himself to his environment. He adopted the dress, speech and manners of his neighbors. The wonder is he did not adopt their faith. Sometimes, he even pretended to do this. And because he moved so frequently, and came into contact with so many different civilizations, he not only gathered a fund of information which stood him in good stead, and developed a linguistic ability which made him the leading interpreter and translator of the Middle Ages, but he also managed to become so expert in adjustment that wherever he went, tho he suffered, he still contrived to make a living. The Jew has been the world's great wanderer, the classic cosmopolitan of history.

Fortunately the compulsory wandering of the Jew is today nearing its end. The heavy Jewish immigration to this country comes

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almost wholly from the few lands where the Jew has not as yet found complete emancipation. And even in these lands the intolerable conditions that now obtain cannot last. Yet the Jew is really liked nowhere. Where he suffers no persecution he encounters discrimination. Even where he is not hated, he is neither admired nor wanted. Spain would have him return simply because of his commercial ability, and there are many even in England and the United States, who do not wish his numbers to increase thru further immigration. How are we to explain this feeling against the Jew?

In 1890 the American Hebrew asked Mark Twain to contribute to a symposium on "Prejudice against the Jews". A week or two later he replied: "I lost the question, but not the topic, that will not down. It mulls and grinds through my head, all the time and obstructs and bothers work which I must do. Some day—I shall find a chance to steal a day and then I shall satisfy myself by writing a chapter even though it be not worth printing after it is written". The article finally made its appearance under the title, "Concerning the Jews" and beside witnessing to the liberal views of the author, makes extremely interesting reading. Trying to account for the unpopularity of the Jew, it denies that this is born of religious fanaticism, and suggests that it is probably due to the fact that "the Jew is a money-getter". The characteristic is not identified solely with the Jew. Indeed the claim is made that the Jew began to strive for wealth only after he saw how it was everywhere worshipped. But once he entered the contest, he was certain of victory. Wherever he went, fortune smiled upon him. He succeeded because he was honest, and his success made him the target of hatred.

That men envy and consequently dislike those who outstrip them is true. This will hardly explain the prejudice against the Jew. That prejudice is world-wide, and is the product of many and varying causes. Russia discriminates against the Jew because he is not a member of the state church and it is convinced that state and church must be one. France argues that the Jew belongs to the Semitic race and that this race is a menace to the higher civilization. In Germany and Austro-Hungary, political capital is made of Anti-Semitism. In the Orient the Jew suffers simply because he is not a Mohammedan. Here in America he is the victim of social discrimination, they who ostracise him claiming in explanation thereof that he is not refined and cultured. So much for national feelings. Other reasons cross national boundaries; atavism, the falsehoods



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about the Jew perpetuated by pulpit and school, ignorance, bigotry, envy, selfishness and greed. Then too, the Jew is in the minority, and minorities are usually unpopular. And tho a cosmopolite and tho everywhere a part and parcel of his environment, (thus ceasing to be a member of a "peculiar people",) by virtue of his faith, he still differs from his neighbors, and people have an instinctive dislike of those who differ from them. Orientals are prejudiced against Occidentals, and Europeans against Americans. And furthermore, the Jew is not altogether free from blame. Often he feels as keen a prejudice as that directed against him, and frequently he does things and displays traits that would offend even if he were not Jew. Of course the prejudice he entertains is largely the product of the treatment men have always accorded him, and so are most of his undesirable characteristics. Plainly he is much more the victim than the aggressor. Yet there is no doubt that he is partially responsible for the prejudice that exists against him.

There are those who argue that the Jew is only a camp-follower, never a pioneer. Yet once the ghetto walls went down, altho for reasons previously explained he usually went directly to the large cities in the lands that welcomed him, he also many times went far beyond the reach of civilization. When he first came to America he settled in the far south. When first he reached the territory now constituting the United States, he remained in the East. Gradually as "Westward the course of empire took its way" he followed in its wake. He was in New Amsterdam, as New York was then called, as early as 1655, but was practically unknown in the Mississippi valley until the beginning of the 19th century. Just when he first appeared in California we do not know. But the discovery of gold in 1849 attracted him in large numbers, so that in 1850 there were two Jewish congregations in San Francisco. Today congregations exist in all parts of the state. In 1905 the Jewish population of California was estimated at 28,000, that of San Francisco alone, 17,000. The largest ghetto in the world is in New York city. But there are Jewish quarters, some of which reproduce many of the features of the East Side of the metropolis, in most of the large cities of the country. And in every city, even where ghetto conditions are unknown, practically every phase of Jewish life is to be found. San Francisco is to the West what New York is to the East. It is indeed a miniature New York. And its Jewish community like that of New York is composed of rich Jews and poor Jews, native born Jews and

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immigrant Jews, Jews who are Orthodox and Jews who are Reform, Jews of yesterday and Jews of today.

It is of this Jewish community that Emma Wolf writes, but she brings only one aspect of it before us. Abraham Cahan tells of ghetto life in America. "The Heirs of Yesterday" are related to the ghetto, have sprung from it, but none of them continue to live in it. Probably this is due to the fact that the problem on which the tale is based does not directly concern the ghetto. For if the Jewish quarter is a world unto itself, he who lives in it is greatly cut off from the world without. Dwelling among Jews in a Jewish environment, into which non-Jewish influences seldom penetrate, it is not difficult for him to remain a Jew. The ghetto may keep him behind the times, and deny him many physical comforts, but it makes it comparatively easy for him to remain among his people and live a Jewish life.

But the case is different with the Jew who has left the ghetto. In everything save religious conviction, he is like his Christian neighbors. Yet these neighbors represent a majority and he a minority. Will his faith enable him to maintain his identity in the face of the Christian forces with which he comes into daily contact? In other words can he remain Jew in a Christian environment? There was a time when Zangwill would have answered this question in the affirmative. Then he would have said that the solution of the Jewish problem might be found in "an immense strengthening of the Jewish spiritual consciousness, a burning conviction of some great world part to play, some great world end to serve, and one that can be even better served by diffused isolation than concentrated isolation". But since then Zangwill has become a Zionist.

That Emma Wolf fell under the spell of the author of "The Children of the Ghetto" there is no doubt. That influence is visible in her Jewish stories, yet she does not permit it to overshadow her individuality. She too wonders how the Jew who has thrown off so many distinguishing features will manage to perpetuate his Jewish individuality in a world of untoward influence. Like Zangwill she is not sanguine of the result. But she does not urge the Jew to escape from his environment and try to fashion a Jewish state. She bids him stand his ground, and do all he can to bridge the gulf that yawns between him and the Christian. Think you intermarriage will be the inevitable product of such a course? "Other Things Being Equal" the possibility does not affright her. Indeed at one time

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she would have welcomed it. Now she no longer even anticipates it. In the first place the Jew is "Heir of Yesterday", and try as he will he cannot escape the heritage. And then, however he identifies himself with his environment, to the world at large he will always be the Jew. In the end he may gain its respect, (altho even that is not always a certainty), but he will seldom if ever be welcomed to a permanent place in its social circles. The Christian is no more eager to marry the Jew, than is the Jew to marry the Christian. "I resolved to break the chain", Phillip confesses. "You cannot break the chain", replies Jean. These two forces, one of the past, the other of the present, whatever his own feelings may be, will inevitably make for the survival of the Jew.

Such is the philosophy of "The Heirs of Yesterday". Is it true? Is the Jew merely a product of history, of persecution, of environment? Does the personal equation play no part in his development? Has he no faith, no convictions? Has he no strong Jewish feelings, no firm Jewish beliefs, no overwhelming sense of Jewish duty, no realization of a Jewish mission, sufficient to keep him sturdily, enthusiastically Jewish, without any reference to the position his non-Jewish neighbors are willing to assign him? If not, why not? Is not he a weakling, unworthy of respect, who has to be forced to do his share of the world's work?

### II. Suggestions.

1. The story of the Jew illustrates the principle of "the survival of the fittest". Had he not been well-equipped, he could never have outlived the wandering forced upon him. And this wandering improved his equipment. It is not easy to discover the secret of Israel's immortality. The persistence of the Jew in the face of all he has endured, witnesses to the presence and power of God.
2. Just as the Jew, while no longer compelled to do so, continues to live in the ghetto, so, tho force has ceased to be the compelling factor, he often goes far from home to improve his condition. Most Jews live in cities, but some are to be found in every village, and some in the settlements that mark the furthest reach of civilization. There are Jews in every land under the sun. The Jew loves the comforts of home; but he is very ambitious.

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3. Usually wherever the Jew goes he succeeds in making a living. There are many Jews who are poor, but few who are paupers. Many live from hand to mouth, but comparatively few are beggars. The majority of those who are compelled to accept occasional aid, do not long remain dependent. The Jewish tramp is an exception. It is seldom that the Jew becomes a public charge.
4. Living in so many different lands, adjusting themselves so completely to their environment, it is surprising that Jews have so completely retained their unity. Yet Jewish solidarity is a fact. Even the renegade Jew cannot forget his people.
5. The Jew is easily the equal of his non-Jewish neighbor, yet no-where does he receive his full due. In some lands he is still actively persecuted. Witness Russia and Roumania. Even in England and America he is still the victim of prejudice. Individual Jews may here and there gain complete respect and admiration. The average Jew, just because he happens to be Jew, must pay a special price for his birth and faith. But of course conditions are better than they were. Social discrimination is a decided improvement on persecution. And we can get along very comfortably even if we are denied admission to certain circles, clubs and hotels. But we owe it to ourselves, not only so to live, but so to protest that even this ignorant discrimination shall cease.
6. Prejudice is due to many causes. And the causes are not similar everywhere.
7. Thus far we have considered studies of Jewish life in many foreign countries. With "The Heirs of Yesterday", the scene shifts to America. Like Emma Wolf, Emma Lazarus was born in this country, but her "Dance to Death" occurs in Europe.
8. "The Heirs of Yesterday" live today. And they dwell outside the ghetto. Besant touched upon Jewish life that had forgone the ghetto. In the second volume of his "Children of the Ghetto", Zangwill went further than Besant, and Gordon distanced both. But all the Jewish characters they describe, at some time or other come back to the ghetto and all live in England. Most of the "Heirs of Yesterday" have left the ghetto for good.
9. And yet, no Jew can wholly leave the ghetto, nor any Jew completely cut himself off from his people. The Jew is not an independent creature, he is a member of a religious brotherhood,

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and that membership, try as he will, he cannot deny. He is not self-made. He is the product of Jewish history. He is not simply a child of today. He is "The Heir of Yesterday", one of the "Children of the Ghetto", one of "The Sons of the Covenant".

10. Most American Jews still live in the ghetto. At heart they are intensely American, yet in appearance and manner they often resemble more their European and Oriental than their American coreligionists. Yet the American Jew is not a new Jew. He is simply the old Jew changed by condition and environment and late history. The child of many an Orthodox Jew, that still lives in the ghetto and makes his living by peddling, is often a successful merchant who resides at a distance from the Jewish quarter and belongs to a Reform Jewish congregation. And Reform Judaism is not a new Judaism. It is simply the old Judaism, in occidental garb. Reform is no more a departure from Judaism than is Orthodoxy.
11. "The Heirs of Yesterday" is not the first attempt to picture Jewish life in America. It is not even Emma Wolf's first effort. "Other Things Being Equal" appeared in 1892.
12. The Jewish Question touches every land under the sun, but the European brand is unknown here. There it is national, racial, religious, economic. Here it is mainly social. Will it ever be fully answered? Emma Wolf doubts it. "The tide of social culture", she says in the "Foreword" to her book, "sweeps literally upward with the grade in San Francisco, dropping inadequacies on the way. The tide of Jewish social culture runs its mimic parallel alongside of it, mounting hill for hill, matching inadequacy with inadequacy. Yet science proves that, this side infinity, parallels never meet". But the distance that separates Jew and Christian is not nearly so great as it used to be. The Jew is known decidedly better and is respected more than he was a hundred years ago. Why doubt that the progress will continue? That the old barriers are going down, (even tho prejudice still exists, and the Jew is shown justice almost nowhere,) is attested by the large number of intermarriages that are taking place. These occur most frequently in Germany. According to the 1900 census of New South Wales, there were 781 Jews and Jewesses who married in the faith as against 686 who married out of it. It is interesting to note

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that intermarriage occurs very seldom in lands where the Jews suffer most disabilities. Nor is the Jew more opposed to the institution than is the Christian. For a long time Church and State visited the heaviest penalties on those who yielded to it. There are those who think intermarriage will do away with prejudice against the Jew. But except it bring about the disappearance of the Jew it will never achieve this end. Even the Jew who marries out of the faith, is known as Jew, and still suffers as such.

13. The Jew is at least the equal of his neighbor. Therefore he is justified in refusing to accept condescension, and in insisting on a full recognition of his rights. If he is "a man for a' that" he should be treated as such. We glory in the militant Jew who compels the world to do him justice. But we can have only contempt for him, who to gain a cold and formal social welcome will sacrifice his birthright. Between the Jew who openly leaves his people and the Jew who, ashamed of his birth, tries to conceal it, there is little choice.
14. "I wanted to be successful, socially as well as commercially", says Philip. (p 32). For centuries the Jew was barred from professional ranks. In many lands even today his birth stands in the way of professional advancement. That is why so many Jews in Europe become converts to Christianity. They seek the line of least resistance.
15. "Whenever a Jew fails to be proud of his birth, it is through cowardice or ignorance or both. And whenever a Christian is unjust to a Jew, it is through cowardice or ignorance or both". (See p. 238). The conclusion holds good in many, but not by any means in all cases. Often where cowardice and ignorance are unknown the Jew is still disliked.
16. "Jean could not have defined her religion by a dogma.—Nevertheless, she was a Jewess, having been born one". Religion is not wholly a matter of creed or even of intellectual conviction. Feeling plays a large part in it. So does birth.
17. Philip May loses sympathy with the ways and interests of his old father. The tragedy takes place in many a Jewish home. How many a child of the ghetto leaves it. How many a child bred in a religious household breaks the parental heart by refusing the faith of his birth. How often the second generation finds fault with the old-fashioned ways of the first.

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18. Philip May knows few Jews; therefore he does not care for them. He knows practically nothing of Judaism; that is why it does not appeal to him. So many a Jew is an ignorant anti-Semite. Often the Jew is as prejudiced against his own as is the Christian.
19. "I think you are rather a radical Jew", Philip remarks in surprise at Paul Stein's liberal views. "If that means rational", replies Paul. Once every rational Jew who dared to analyze and seek to understand his faith, was called Christian or atheist. Today he is called radical. Tomorrow he will be known as a conservative.
20. Philip is a physician. Both he and Jean are musical. Further illustration of the talented bent of the Jew.
21. At the time of the Revolutionary War there were no more than 3000 Jews in the country. Yet we know of 46 who marched to the field of battle. Some 44 Jews fought in the war of 1812, 60 in the Mexican war, at least 8000 in the Civil war, and over 2500 in the Spanish-American war.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Tell the legend of the Wandering Jew.
2. Explain the cosmopolitanism of the Jew.
3. How does the migration of the Jew differ from that of other people?
4. What made the Jew an expert linguist?
5. Enumerate the different causes of prejudice against the Jew.
6. To what extent is the Jew responsible for this prejudice?
7. How does the Jewish Question in Europe differ from that in America?
8. How do you explain the continuance of the Jew in the face of all he has had to endure?
9. Why is it easier to live a Jewish life in the ghetto than outside of it?
10. Why is the Jew the victim of social discrimination here in America? What attitude should he assume toward it?
11. How does intermarriage affect the prejudice against the Jew?
12. Why has intermarriage increased since the emancipation of the Jew, and why is it proportionately rarer in countries like Russia and Algeria than in Germany and Hungary?

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13. What part did the Jew play in "7
14. What do you know of the Jews in
15. How do "The Heirs of Yesterday"
- the Ghetto" and "The Sons of the
16. Distinguish between a "Radical"
- "Radical" and "Rational" Jew.
17. Why do many Jews lack culture
18. "All Jews are superstitious", say:
19. What do you know of the Jew as
20. "I resolved to break the chain",
- galley-slave of the past, lugging f
- (p 217). What is the chain? Ca
21. Jean, "one of those modern a
- ideals" (p 53). Why an anachro
- an of today no ideals? How wil
- in which so many young women
- more religious than man? Why?
22. "Judaism addresses itself to the
- to its weakness.—Judaism speak
- to the heart.—Judaism controls,
- 241). What do you think of this

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## LESSON XV.

### I. Required Reading.

"Deborah". James Ludlow.

The charge is frequently made that the Jew is a consumer and not a producer. The accusation is based on the fact that most Jews are engaged in commerce, while few of them take to the tilling of the soil. But in Biblical days the Jews were literally "People of the land". Practically all of them were farmers. If today they flock to the cities, and seldom move to the country, it is because they were so long herded in the ghetto, and compelled to make a living by the most menial kind of barter and trade. Yet there is nothing necessarily humiliating about a commercial life. Commerce is as necessary to the development of civilization as agriculture. And the merchant is no more a consumer and no less a producer than the farmer.

Sometimes the commercial integrity of the Jew is questioned, but seldom his commercial ability. In Turkey this ability is not rated so high. There they say "It takes two Jews to get the best of a Greek, two Greeks to get the best of a Persian, two Persians to get the best of a Syrian, and an Armenian can get the best of them all". It is even generally admitted that in England the Scotchman is a better business man than the Jew, and in America, the New England Yankee. Nevertheless, where the commercial capacity of the Jew is recognized, it is still frequently said that the Jew is not a good citizen, because he is cowardly, that he will not fight either for his own rights or the rights of others, and where-ever he can, avoids military service. But it has been shown in the preceding les-

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son that in all the wars of the United States the Jews contributed more than their proportionate number to the ranks. And they have always been consistently conspicuous in the defense of England. Nor is it surprising that, treated by nearly every land on which they set foot, so inhumanly for centuries, the Jews should be ready to place their means and their lives at the service of those few countries which look upon them as human beings and grant them equality. The interesting fact is, that to the extent of his privileges the Jew has been a good citizen and patriot even in those places where he has been denied every elemental right. In the Middle Ages when friends were few and enemies many, he fought on almost every battlefield for governments that knew neither appreciation nor gratitude, but only cruelty. In Turkey he even pleaded for military service. And today he is found in large numbers in the army of every European power, not excepting Russia. In Russia, Jews furnish ten recruits for every 1000 inhabitants every year, while others provide seven recruits per thousand every other year. And compulsory military service explains the situation only in part. Cosmopolite that he is, wanderer that he is, the Jew loves the land in which he lives, be it that of his birth or adoption, clings to it until it drives him forth, and makes undeserved sacrifices for it.

Here again the Jew is "Heir of Yesterday". In Biblical and post-Biblical days, he was not only tiller of the soil, he was also warrior. He had to be. War was everywhere the order of the day. Appointed a "Kingdom of Priests", the Jews soon learned not only that "Right is might" but that might must be used in defense of the right. Had they not learned this lesson they would soon have passed off the stage of history. In Bible times, too, Israel was a theocracy. Church and State were one. Land and faith were so intimately related, that to lose the one was to endanger the other. The ten tribes disappeared because their faith was not strong enough to resist the force of exile. On the other hand, the Jews in Babylon found in their faith a constant reminder of the land from which they had been taken captive. Until the last they felt that they could not live, that their religion could not live, except in Paletsine. "By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. Upon the willows hung we our harps. For they who led us captive asked of us songs, they who despoiled us, asked mirth of us, requesting that we sing one of the songs of Zion. But how shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee O Jerus-

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alem, let my right hand forget her cunning, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I remember thee not, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy". That is why so many felt that the end of Judaism had come when Jerusalem and the Temple fell at the hands of Titus, and the Jews were scattered. How could the faith survive the loss of the land? And that is why so many Jews to this day yearn for the restoration of Jewish political independence.

After fifty years of exile, the Babylonian captives were permitted by Cyrus to return to Palestine and to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple. This, after a number of difficulties, they succeeded in doing. Even then all was not smooth sailing. Still for two centuries and a half the newly restored State experienced few really trying situations. Along with the Persian Empire, Palestine came under the control of Alexander the Great, but the political position of the Jews was very slightly disturbed. By introducing Hellenism into Syria, however Alexander exerted a profound influence on subsequent Jewish history. At his death, his dominions were divided among his generals, Syria and Egypt contending for the control of the East. Lying between the two, Palestine suffered no matter which power gained the victory. For a while Egypt had the upper hand, but in 203 B. C. Syria gained control and annexed Palestine. At this time Syria was identified with the Hellenism of Alexander. Between Hellenism and Judaism there was nothing in common. To the strict Jews of that period, Hellenism spelled only Paganism. However, so long as they were not brought into direct touch with it, so long as Syria simply exacted tribute of them, and allowed them to go their religious way undisturbed, and a priesthood worthy of its position represented them at the Syrian court, conscientiously protecting their interests, they gave the change of political masters little thought.

But in 175 B. C. Antiochus IV, also called Epiphanes "The Illustrious" or "The God-manifest" ascended the throne. Authorities are agreed that he was both cruel and eccentric. Just why he declined to continue the attitude of his predecessors toward the Jews, it is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy. Under the spell of Hellenism himself, he may have been eager to extend its sway over all his subjects. He may even have anticipated the philosophy of Pobyedonostzev, that the strength of a country depends on the religious unity of its people. In 168, leading an expedition against Egypt, Antiochus was compelled to raise the siege of Alex-

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andria just when victory seemed in his grasp. In this defeat he saw danger for his own kingdom. Would Rome, flushed with victory, and at the height of its power, attack Syria itself? If so it would first of all conquer Palestine. Did Antiochus think to forestall this possibility by Hellenizing the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine and so making them an integral part of his empire? Mahaffy suggests that his bitterness against the Jews was due to the fact that "in some way the nationalist party in Judea and their relations in Egypt, must have thwarted his advance (against Alexandria) and marred his campaign.—It seems likely that this opportunity of the patriotic party in Judea hindered his march, and so caused his signal failure at the moment of victory". Besides, Antiochus was always of a mercenary character. He sold the priesthood of Jerusalem to the highest bidder. Entering the Temple he carried away its most valuable utensils. After his plans against Egypt were frustrated by Rome, he was especially in need of money, and he may have felt that he could easily replenish his empty coffers, by removing the last shred of Jewish independence. In addition, the constant quarreling between the priests in Jerusalem was beginning to irritate him. Whatever the reason, immediately on his return from Egypt, Antiochus sent Apollonius to Palestine to convert the country into a Greek colony. Jerusalem was captured, its walls and many of its houses razed to the ground, and hundreds of its men, women and children, either put to death or sold into slavery. The continuance of Jewish worship was interdicted, all Jewish books were confiscated, and the people were ordered to bring sacrifices to pagan altars erected in all parts of the country. The climax came when a statue of Olympian Zeus was placed on the altar of burnt offering in the Temple, and the decree issued that the Jews should bow the head and bend the knee before it.

The result is well known. There were those who, fascinated by the charm of Greek culture, were not averse to replacing the faith of their birth with that which Antiochus wished to impose upon them. Others yielded because they dreaded the power of the King. Fortunately their number was small. Hundreds of the Hasidim permitted themselves to be put to death rather than compromise. Then, in the year 167, passive resistance gave way to active opposition. Under the leadership of Mattathias and his brave sons, the Syrian hosts were defeated again and again. Realizing that the situation was considerably more serious than he had anticipated, An-

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**tiochus** at last dispatched the best of his commanders and troops against the Jews. All were "like chaff which the wind driveth away". Untrained in the arts of war, with an undisciplined following, Judas Maccabees drove the enemy from the land, and finally, three years from the day when Apollonius desecrated the altar in the Temple, re-entered the city of Jerusalem, rededicated the Temple, and instituted the festival of Hanukah.

Over 2000 years have passed since then, but the Maccabean victory still has a message for us. As Jews, we too are surrounded by alien influences that threaten the continuance of our faith. Are we to yield to these influences at the cost of our religious heritage? Not if we possess self-respect. Judaism is safe if we, who were appointed its guardians, remain true to it and do not desert our posts. Courage saved Israel and the faith in the second century B. C. and it can save us still.

Dr. Ludlow was not the first to treat the Maccabean period in fiction. Alfred Church wrote "The Hammer", a juvenile. Then came Charlotte Yonge's "The Patriots of Palestine", written for adults, but of little consequence. "Deborah" is a book for old and young, and elevating for both. It exhibits an exact acquaintance with Jewish history and an unusual sympathy with Jewish life. The figures that played so important a role in those days when men's souls were tried, are skillfully delineated, while the fanciful and imaginary characters, are exceedingly life-like. Indeed they seem as real to us as the historic people with whom they associate. The volume also pictures what history seldom portrays, the human side of the men and women it describes. Judas is a warrior giving his all for his people, but he is still a man. And Deborah herself, type of the Jewish woman of those stirring days, is no less the woman because of the dangers she hazards, and the labors she performs. Should she seem unusual to you, remember that she lived in the long ago when plow-shares were beaten into swords, and pruning hooks into spears, when the fate of her people hung in the balance, when it was not considered unwomanly for mother and daughter to contribute directly to the struggle for the preservation of country and faith.

Dr. Ludlow has caught well the spirit of the Maccabean times. Reading his tale, we feel the atmosphere in which the people of that distant day lived. We begin to understand why Hellenism was so popular. We see the manner in which it gained influence in Jewish

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circles. One moment we are listening to the renegades who hurt the Jewish cause so much, and the next, our deepest emotions are plumbed by the sturdy Jewish spirit, that in the face of overpowering odds, and almost certain defeat, dared to hurl defiance into the teeth of one of the mightiest rulers of the time. We watch the movements of the commander, who wrote his name wonderfully high on the records of military achievement. And finally we see the handful of Jews, for three years homeless, return in triumph to their capital city, to renew the public expression of the faith for which they were willing to die, rather than yield. It is a stirring picture, upon which no real Jew can look unmoved.

### II. Suggestions.

1. History has taught the Jew to endure, to be patient and to bide his time. He will compromise on unessentials, but where fundamental things are concerned, he will not yield. They who do not like him therefore call him obstinate. Peace-loving, he knows how to give blow for blow, when the occasion warrants. Cosmopolitan he is still intensely patriotic. Indeed he is often more patriotic than religious, tho religion and patriotism should go hand in hand. His stature may be below the average, but so is that of the Japanese, and both make good soldiers. Courage and heroism have nothing to do with size. In 1846 Moses Montefiore went to Russia to plead the cause of his poor coreligionists of that land. "My Jewish soldiers". Czar Nicholas told him on that occasion, "are veritable Maccabees". Yet think how Russia treats the Jews.
2. There are Zionists who yearn for a restoration of political independence because they are convinced that unless Jews have a land of their own, Judaism will not survive. Others feel that without a Jewish land Jewish life cannot find full and free expression. Others want a Jewish state in order that the oppressed Jews of the world may have a country to which they will be freely admitted and in which they will exercise all the rights of citizenship.
3. In the time of the Maccabees, Church and State were one. Fighting for religious liberty, the Jews also gained political independence. The United States has no state religion yet it is the strongest country in the world. And Judaism has no

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land of its own, has had no such land for over eighteen centuries. And still it lives.

4. No matter what induced Antiochus to trample on the rights of his Jewish subjects, remember that the Jews were themselves responsible for the conditions that made it possible for him to interfere in their domestic affairs. Of course he had the power to interfere and might have done so without any provocation. But it was when he came to Jerusalem, ostensibly to restore Menelaus to the priesthood, that he seized upon the occasion to despoil the sanctuary.
5. That act checked the spread of the very movement in which he was interested. People are very sensitive where their religion is concerned. And they used to be much more so than they are now. Deny their political rights and they will be long-suffering. But they will brook no interference with their faith. Tho in olden times religion and politics were intimately related, so long as Antiochus simply made the Jews pay tribute, they remained quiet. But once he laid impious hand on what was sacred to them, they rose against him like a man. By riding roughshod over the religious scruples of the people, Antiochus threw many, fast yielding to the influence of Hellenism, back upon the faith of their birth, to become more staunchly Jewish than before. They called the erection of the statue of Zeus in the Temple, the "abomination of desolation", and the sight of it roused them to fury. "The more dangerous Hellenism became, the more pious Jews sought an antidote to it in their Bible.—They felt that here was a moral sublimity to which Greece could offer no counterpart, and a bond which could unite the scattered members of their race far more effectually than the Temple at Jerusalem. And history justified their conclusions". Cheyne, "Jewish Religious Life After the Exile". 256.
6. The influence of Hellenism divided the Jews of the time into two camps, the Hasidim or Saints, uncompromising zealots, to whom every Jewish custom and law was equally sacred, and never under any circumstances to be abandoned; and the Zadikim or Righteous, who prided themselves on their liberal views, and were not averse to adjusting themselves to the foreign culture of the day, who adopted many of the ways of the Greeks, and so became known as Hellenists. When Mattathias

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called upon his people to follow him in revolt, the first to respond were the Hasidim.

7. The Maccabean struggle was in reality, not simply a contest between Syria and Palestine, but between Judaism and Hellenism. Had Antiochus gained the day, Judaism would in all probability have disappeared. Yet long after the war was over, Hellenic influence on Jewish life and thought could easily be discerned.
8. Greece gave the world, art; Rome, law; Israel, religion. To the Greek religion was beauty, to the Jew, duty. "The Hebrews drank of the fountain, the Greeks from the stream, and the Romans from the pool". Kohut. "The Greeks were only handsome youths, but the Jews have always been men". Heine.
9. Various derivations of the name Maccabee have been suggested. Ludlow (p. 158) inclines to the popular view that it is composed of the initial letters of the battle-cry of the Jews during the struggle with Antiochus: "Mi-kamoka baelim adonai". It is difficult however to understand why he abbreviates the cry. Curtiss derives it from the Hebrew verb, "kabah", meaning to extinguish. It is also suggested that it comes from the Hebrew noun, "makabah", meaning hammer. Compare title "Martel" given to Charles, grandfather of Charlemagne, and famous general of the Franks.
10. "The wars of independence waged by the Jews against the Greeks and the Romans, illustrate the Jewish attitude toward life and its duties. Though at first blush these conflicts seem similar to the conflicts engaged in by other nations, they differ from them fundamentally. The others battled, to use the Roman phrase, 'pro aris atque focis', for hearth and home. To be fighting for religion was a new thing". Lazarus, "Ethics of Judaism" I. 38.
11. Keep the following dates in mind:
  - 175 B. C. Antiochus IV ascends the throne.
  173. Jason is made high-priest.
  172. Menelaus succeeds Jason.
  169. Antiochus plunders the Temple.
  168. Antiochus defeated in Egypt, returns to Palestine and commissions Apollonius to humiliate and rob the Jews.
  167. Mattathias begins the revolt.



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- 166. Death of Mattathias; Judas becomes commander; Battle of Beth-horon; Battle of Emmaus.
- 165. Battle of Beth Zur; Judas enters city of Jerusalem; Festival of Dedication.
- 164. Death of Antiochus.
- 12. Trace the places mentioned in the story, on the map at the end of the book.
- 13. Little Caleb is blind. Most of the natives of Palestine, and of the Orient for that matter, are either blind or suffer from trachoma. Lack of proper medical attention at birth, indifference to sanitary precautions and the dazzling reflection of the sun from the white mud, concrete and stone, of which practically all the buildings are constructed, are the contributing causes.
- 14. Ludlow confesses in his "note" that he has availed himself of the privilege of an author, and has supplemented by aid of the imagination, the meagre records at his disposal. Dion, Caleb, Meph, even Deborah, are all merely children of his fancy. Yet how life-like they are. The historical inaccuracies of the story are extremely few in number.
- 15. There is a fraternity known as the Maccabees. Longfellow has told the story of the historic struggle in his "Judas Maccabeus", while Handel gave the same title to one of his finest oratorios. There was a time, Canon Cheyne tells us, when "both in the East and West, August the 1st was sanctified (by the Church) as the spiritual birthday of the Maccabees".

### III. Tests and Reviews.

- 1. What relation does commerce bear to civilization?
- 2. Why is the Jew largely concerned with trade?
- 3. What part has the Jew played in the wars of Europe?
- 4. How can a man love a country that persecutes him? Should he fight for such a country? What of the Jew in Russia?
- 5. What became of the Ten Lost Tribes? How do you account for their disappearance?
- 6. Trace briefly the course of Jewish history from the return from Babylon to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.
- 7. What was Hellenism? Why did it become a popular movement? How did it affect the Jews?

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8. Who were the Hasidim and Zaddikim? Compare the Hasidim with the Zealots in the war with Rome.
9. Enumerate the main events of the Maccabean War.
10. Considering that the Jews were in the minority, and were undisciplined and inexperienced, how do you explain the fact that they gained the victory?
11. What kind of a man and king was Antiochus IV? What led him to attack the Jews? What fact gave him an excuse for interfering in the domestic affairs of the Jews?
12. What was the origin of the name Maccabee?
13. Compare Deborah with her Biblical namesake.

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## JEWISH CHARACTERS IN FICTION:

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## LESSON XVI.

### I. Required Reading.

"Idyls of the Gass". Martha Wolfenstein. (1869-1906).

Asked how it was possible for her to describe so accurately and vividly, people and conditions she had never looked upon, Martha Wolfenstein replied, "I have written my father's reminiscences, and though the tales and episodes are in the main pure invention, the background and scenes upon which they are painted are to me quite as vivid as are the memories of my own childhood". Dr. Wolfenstein was born at Gross-Meseritz, Moravia, Dec. 10, 1841, and did not leave the country until 1863. Moravia was annexed by Bohemia in 1029, but became part of Austria in 1526. Since the latter date therefore the fortunes of its Jewish inhabitants have been practically identical with those of their coreligionists in the other provinces of the land. The first reference to the Jews in Moravia is contained in the law issued at Rasselsteden during the reign of Louis

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the Child, (899-911), which provided that "lawful merchants—i. e. Jews and other merchants—whencesoever they come, whether from this or any other country, shall pay a just toll on their slaves and on other merchandise, as has been the case under the former kings". Possibly the reference was simply to Jewish merchants who visited Moravia for commercial purposes. But there is no doubt that Jews resided in Moravia as early as the eleventh century. The meagre report of their status that has come down to us makes it clear that even then their lot was by no means an enviable one, and many a year, many a century passed before their circumstances improved. Indeed with the passing of the years the position of the Jews in Moravia became more and more hazardous. The story of the life of the Jew in all parts of Europe during the Middle Ages is a tragedy. Few countries treated him tolerantly, even if he were a native subject, and few welcomed him if he came from other lands. (Read Zunz, "The Suffering of the Jews during the Middle Ages"). And Moravia was not one of the exceptions. Seldom did its Jewish subjects enjoy a happy day. Shimmele "wished nothing save to return to his grandmother in peace and unharmed". (Idyls of the Gass, 254). And the Jews in Moravia would have been content, would indeed have rejoiced, if tho denied many of the privileges of citizenship, they had been permitted to work out their own destiny unmolested. But their desire was not considered. They were hemmed in by all sorts of restrictions. All kinds of special taxes were levied upon them. With all these taxes they never knew how long they were to be allowed to remain in one place. Often without a word of warning they were ordered to leave and never return. Frequently the number of families that might reside in a city, and the number of marriages allowed among them, were limited. Sometimes they were driven out only to be recalled. Their money was needed. For the same reason, the rulers now and then tried to protect them. But the action always met with popular disapproval. The most absurd charges were made against them, and many a time they suffered terribly from the Blood Accusation. Moreover wherever they went the most humiliating indignities were heaped upon them. Shut off from most avenues of trade, peddling became a characteristic Jewish method of making a living. And the peddler who went far from home took his life in his hands. Ghettoes were often established by order of the government. Always the Jew found it best to live near his own.

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Practically all of these conditions obtained as late as 1800. Most of them existed in the middle of the nineteenth century. Many existed even later and some have not yet altogether disappeared. The Revolution of 1848 promised brighter times for the Jews, tho its first effect was simply to rouse the masses against them. Yielding to the spirit of the time, Austria adopted a new constitution, in which religious liberty was guaranteed to all the inhabitants of the land. Special Jewish taxes were removed and for the first time Jews were appointed as professors in the universities. But the sun did not remain long above the horizon. The reaction soon set in, just as it did after the downfall of Napoleon. With the abdication of Ferdinand I, Francis Joseph ascended the throne, and forthwith many of the new privileges of the Jews were withdrawn. Dissolving parliament and introducing a new constitution without its consent, the emperor insisted that the principle of religious liberty must still prevail, but while the Jews now enjoyed some rights they had previously been denied, they were anything but religiously or politically free. They could not reside in certain places like Sternberg, nor acquire real estate in Laibach, nor employ Christian servants, nor join the society for the advancement of Jewish literature established by Ludwig Phillipson. In 1855 they were denied permission to become teachers in elementary or high schools or to organize congregations in lower Austria. Until 1859 no Jewish marriage could take place without a special license. As late as 1883 a law was passed requiring the principal of every public school to belong to the same church as the majority of the pupils. This made it impossible for Jews to teach in the country districts. Moreover Galicia, where the Jews were in the majority, was exempted from the application of the law. In 1891 thirteen avowed anti-Semites were elected to the Reichrath, while in 1895 the anti-Semitic party secured a majority in the Vienna municipal council, a rabid Jew-hater, Lueger being elected burgomaster in 1897. In "Stirring Times in Austria" Mark Twain describes a turbulent meeting of the Austrian Parliament which occurred that year and observes that with the downfall of the Badeni government, the excited masses fell upon the Jews, and inflicted much loss and suffering, altho the latter were in no way responsible for or concerned with the disturbance. "In some cases", he reports, "the Germans were the rioters, in others the Czechs—in all cases the Jew had to roast, no matter which side he was on". It was in reply to a letter from a corre-

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spondent inquiring as to the cause of the anti-Jewish outbreaks, (considering the innocence of the Jews), that the humorist wrote his article "Concerning the Jews", to which reference has already been made. In 1899 mob attacks were also made on the Jews of Nachod and Nollenschauand. The same year two events occurred which roused Jewish indignation the world over, and showed how unsatisfactory, how precarious indeed, was the position of even the modern Jew in Austria. Just as Edgar Mortara in 1858, was forcibly taken from his parents in Italy, by the Vatican authorities, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his parents, and practically the whole civilized world, was not allowed to return, so in Austria a young Jewish girl named Michaline Araten was abducted from her home and placed in a convent, and all the efforts of her father to secure her release were vain. Even the emperor was appealed to, but he refused to interfere. The scene of the other occurrence was Polna, a small city in Bohemia. There a young Jewish vagrant was charged with ritual murder, tried, pronounced guilty and sentenced to death. Attempts to prove the man's innocence and bring about his acquittal served only to intensify the bitter feeling against the Jews that already existed. Later the emperor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. In Hungary, which is now part of the dual empire, the condition of the Jews is no better than in Austria, as is clearly indicated by the Tisza Eszlar Affair, during which a number of Jews of that city were accused of murdering a young Christian woman for ritual purposes. Fortunately the accused were eventually able to prove their innocence and gain their freedom, but not before they had been put to very heavy expense, and had even suffered temporary imprisonment.

Reading the "Idyls of the Gass" with these facts in mind we are now prepared to appreciate the unusual historical accuracy of the tale, to realize the truth of scenes which might otherwise seem to us purely imaginary, and to grasp the point of a number of references whose full significance might otherwise altogether escape us. We see now why poverty prevailed in the gass; why frequently wandering Jews came to it begging temporary aid; why the problem of a suitable trade for the Jewish boy was hard to solve; why most of the men of the gass were peddlers; why Yittl Kummer could not marry tho she waited twelve long years, as the number of marriages permitted the villiage had already taken place, and neither she nor her betrothed had the means to purchase exemption from the law;

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why Anshel Dorfgeher journeyed about the country in trembling since the selling of goods to the farmers had been forbidden by the government; why the son of David Abeles had to serve in the army, tho he could never rise higher than a corporal; why usually apostasy was the necessary step to advancement in any profession; why the children of the gass had so few games; why there were so many tears in the gass; why Shimmele was so old for his years; why the "thrasher Count" found it easy to rouse the superstitious people against the gass, persuade them that the Jews were guilty of ritual murder, and translate their prejudice and rage into an attack that brought the checkered career of the gass to an end in destruction and death. Of course not all the events narrated in the "Idyls" took place in Maritz. In fact none of them occurred in Maritz, since there was no village of that name. But all of them took place at some time or other, in some village or other, not only in Austria but in Moravia.

Still, with all the tears of the gass it is wonderful that it was able to develop so much of content and happiness, of sentiment and romance, of kindness and unselfishness. And Martha Wolfenstein has caught all these appealing features and transferred them lovingly and faithfully to her pages. Ludwig Frankl (1810-1894), Leopold Kompert (1822-1886), Solomon Kohn (1825—), Karl Emil Franzos (1848—), and Sacher Masoch, all wrote of the same ghetto, but none with so much of charm and appeal, and none of course in English, altho a number of their stories have been translated; "Judith Trachtenberg" and "The Jews of Barnow" by Franzos; "Christian and Leah" and "Ghetto Scenes" by Kompert; "Gabriel" by Kohn; and "Jewish Tales" by Masoch. Kompert idealized the ghetto of which he wrote. The rest saw only its sadder, and gloomier realities. Of the humor of the gass, of its brighter and more satisfying and less harrowing aspects, of its natural and human experiences, they grasped little. In this respect their stories approach the ghetto tales of Zangwill, much as in other ways they differ from them. Martha Wolfenstein never looked upon the gass she described, nor witnessed any of the incidents of which she made it the scene, but she received her information at first hand and therefore it was authentic. And he who guided her hand must have loved the old gass with all its trials, and restrictions, else she could hardly have made her picture so beautiful. The background of sorrow and injustice is there, but it does not overshadow the attractive features

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of the foreground. The gass of Maritz "is only an old crooked street, just wide enough to hold a stream of sunlight at noon; with worn cobble pavements, where puddles lie in wet weather, and dust drifts in dry,—a street full, O very full, of poor plodding Jews with "eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions" like the rest of God's human creatures, though counted peculiar and alien in the world:—men, women and children such as you could find in a thousand other Jews' streets, in as many obscure villages". It contains no "fascinating problems" nor will you find there "sweep of silken garments, and the clank of spur and sword". Yet out of this plain material the author has fashioned a tale—humorous, pathetic and tragic, interesting, thrilling, and satisfying. Zangwill himself, easily the leading Jewish writer of the day, and himself an authority on the ghetto confessed as much. "Miss Wolfenstein", he wrote when the book appeared, "has enriched literature. Charming is indeed the word which one keeps repeating to oneself throughout the book.—We shall all look forward eagerly to further work from Miss Wolfenstein's pen, especially for further information about Shimmele. Yes, Miss Wolfenstein must give us the story of Shimmele". There have been and there are greater and more talented Jewish writers than Martha Wolfenstein, but none has written a better ghetto tale than the "Idyls", and none has yet fashioned characters as distinctive and appealing as Maryam and Shimmele. It is indeed to be regretted that "the story of Shimmele" was never told. For it would undoubtedly have gained the author many new laurels.

And the remarkable fact is that Miss Wolfenstein served no literary apprenticeship. She began to write only as a diversion during a sick spell. Unknown to her, a friend sent her first story to *Lippincott's* by whom it was at once accepted. Further contributions were forthwith solicited by a number of editors and publishers. After the appearance of the "Idyls" these were collected and issued in a companion volume by the Jewish Publication Society.

### II. Suggestions.

1. The Jew suffers least today in America, England and Italy. He suffers most in Russia and Roumania. But his position is also extremely trying in Austria; especially in Galicia.
2. As the Jew has been largely an urban resident, we are prone to think of the ghetto as a city institution. But it existed also in towns and villages where the Jews lived in any numbers.



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3. In the European villages which often lie beyond the reach of the influences and the movements that represent modern civilization, the natives are naturally more superstitious than their countrymen who live in the cities. At the same time their relations toward their Jewish neighbors are frequently noticeably more cordial and intimate. Out in the little villages of Austria the peasants may dislike the Jews for religious reasons, but they never think of making political capital out of that dislike. Their's is prejudice but not anti-Semitism.
4. Yet since village and city alike are under the control of the same government, and since Jews are Jews where-ever they live, whether they till the soil, or peddle, or, when permitted, engage in commerce in the cities, they usually suffer alike and together. They are subject to the same laws, and once an anti-Semitic agitation begins, it is likely to sweep over the whole land, reaching not only the cities but the outlying districts as well. And modern methods of communication or transportation are not needed to carry the feeling from place to place.
5. "Politics make strange bed-fellows", but religion often makes strange enemies. Christian and Jew live side by side with every reason to be friends. Yet they have little to do with each other. Often during the Middle Ages even, especially in the small towns of Europe, Jews and Christians lived together on the most amicable terms. But once the cry of ritual murder was raised, or desecration of the host charged, or a fanatic suddenly appeared to re-emphasize the age-long falsehood of Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus, or to blame the Jews for plagues or famines or economic misery, and the friends of one day became the bitter enemies of the next.
6. The original of the "thrashing Count" described as having roused the Christians of Maritz against the Jews, is Count Walter Puckler-Muskau, a violent German anti-Semite. The title was given to him because of his bitter denunciation of the Jews, a favorite expression being to "thrash them". Most of his harangues were delivered in Berlin. He never visited Austria, but many like him lived there. Arrested in 1899 for inciting violence, he pleaded that he meant no harm to the Jews and that his utterances were to be taken only figuratively. Dr. Neuman, an expert alienist, testified that he considered Puckler insane.

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17. Fitzgerald never visited the home of "Omar", yet was responsible for the wonderful popularity of the poem. Moore never saw the land of "Lallah Rookh" yet told a tale filled with the flavor of the Orient. Martha Wolfenstein never set foot upon Moravian soil and nevertheless her local color is perfect. No native son could have pictured Jewish life in an Austrian village more vividly.

### III. Tests and Reviews.

1. Outline the story of the Jew in Austria.
2. Enumerate some of the restrictions applied to him.
3. What was the Familianten Gesetz? Why was it introduced?
4. Why in some European countries is the Jew not allowed to take high rank in the army?
5. What effect did the Revolution of 1848 have on the condition of the Jew in Austria?
6. Why were the Jews forbidden to acquire real estate?
7. What is the difference between prejudice and anti-Semitism?
8. What is a pogrom?
9. Who was Michaline Araten?
10. What was the Tisza Eszlar Affair?
11. What is Christian Socialism?
12. What do you know of Stocker, Ahlwardt, and Lueger?
13. Who was the "thrasher Count"?
14. What is the condition of the Jews in Galicia?
15. What was the Chmielnicki massacre?
16. Why did Ezekiel Landau warn his people against the influence of the Jews of Berlin?
17. Why are the Polish and Lithuanian Jews socially ostracised by their coreligionists from other countries?
18. Name some of the writers who have told tales of the Austrian ghetto.
19. What do you know of the life of Martha Wolfenstein? What did she write besides the "Idyls of the Gass"?
20. How do the "Idyls" differ from other stories of the ghetto that you have read? What made them at once so popular and gained them such universal and unqualified praise?
21. Compare the humor of the "Idyls" with that of the "Children of the Ghetto".

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22. Mark Twain said that "the humorous story is American, the comic story is English, the witty story is French". In which class would you place the laughable situations of the "Idyls"?

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